

The ART Quarterly



Spring, 1961



JOHN CONSTABLE

1776-1837

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Oil, 10×12¹/₄"

Purchased from Constable Family, 1904. Collection: O. C. Bevan



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The ART Quarterly

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Fig. 1. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Dell Scene in Helmingham Park*
Kansas City, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund)

CONSTABLE'S "HELMINGHAM DELL"

By R. B. BECKETT

HELMINGHAM, for centuries the seat of the Tollemache family, lies a few miles to the other side of Ipswich from East Bergholt, from where it would thus be easily accessible to Constable. His first known visit to Helmingham Hall was in the summer of 1800, soon after he had taken his place in the life class of the Royal Academy and then come home for his summer vacation. On July 25 he sent over a note by hand to his friend John Dunthorne:

Here I am quite alone among the oaks and solitude of Helmingham Park. I have quite taken possession of the parsonage finding it quite empty. A woman comes from the farm house (where I eat) and makes the bed, and I am left at liberty to wander where I please during the day. There are abundance of fine trees of all sorts—though the place upon the whole affords good objects rather than fine scenery—but I can hardly judge yet what I may have to show you. I have made one or two drawings that may be usefull. I shall not come home yet.¹

It will be noticed that the emphasis is on solitude and trees; and among the "good objects" would be the famous oaks, some of which may have seen the visit of Queen Elizabeth I to the Hall, together with the deer that grazed in the dappled shade. On these he could exercise the ability to handle black chalk, which he had only recently acquired in the life class. Leslie, who owned two of the drawings dated the 23rd and 24th of July, remarks of them that they showed Constable to be already possessed of a "true sense of the beautiful in composition."² The sketches in fact proved useful in that he was able to work some of them up into paintings during the next few years. The style of those here reproduced (Figs. 2 and 3) indicates the approximate date, so reminiscent is it of that of Gainsborough, Constable's predominant influence at this time.³

As far as we know, Constable only paid one later visit to Helmingham. On April 24, 1814, he took his sister Mary over with him for the day to see the Hall, where his patrons the Earl and Dowager Countess of Dysart were in residence. This seems to have been a purely social visit, though no doubt it

served to refresh his memory of the scenes around, and in particular of the Dell, a depression at some distance from the back of the Hall, locally known as the "Gull." This was presently to become, as he tells us himself, one of his favorite subjects for painting. Why it should have been so is not clear; it offered none of the depth or width of prospect that are to be found in his other favorite scenes; but the reason may have lain in his great love of trees for their own sake, reinforced in this instance by sentimental memories of his first visit. However this may be, it was certainly his most unlucky subject.

The first surviving rendering of the Dell is a large watercolor drawing at Leeds (Fig. 4; 42×29 ins.), though there seems to have been an earlier chalk drawing from which this was worked up not long after.⁴ The upright composition differs from the oblong eventually adopted, but the scene can be easily identified from the footbridge and the large tree on the right, which appears throughout the later paintings.

The first version in oils probably came several years later, for Constable had a way of looking through his portfolios of old drawings when he was at a loss for a suitable subject. This is a sketch of moderate size in the Bacon Collection (Fig. 5; $28 \times 36\frac{1}{4}$ in.).⁵ It is not easy to date precisely but it is likely to have been done not very long before the next version to be considered, in which case it may be assigned to the early 1820's.

It is not until 1823, however, that we come to the earliest mention of a painting of Helmingham Dell. Constable usually refers briefly to any painting of this subject as a "Wood". On July 10 he wrote to Archdeacon Fisher: "Sir G. Beaumont has just left me . . . He is pleased with a large Wood I have just toned. He said 'well done.'"⁶ Leslie tells us that this referred to a large sketch of *Helmingham Dell*. There can be little doubt that it was the one now in the Louvre (Fig. 6; 40×50 ins.),⁷ since no other large oil sketch of the subject is known.

We are on firmer ground with the next version, which followed soon after and was the first to be finished (Fig. 8; $27\frac{7}{8} \times 36$ ins.). On July 18 Constable received a letter from his friend and admirer James Pulham of Woodbridge,⁸ for whom he had just painted a coast scene as a gift. After returning thanks for the present Mr. Pulham went on: "I must have the Dell in Helmingham Park, if you will let me have it on the Terms you mentioned. Being possessed of that, I will never covet more."

From the definite article it may be presumed that Mr. Pulham had seen one of the sketches of *Helmingham Dell* in Constable's studio on one of his visits

to his son in London and had then expressed his desire for a picture of a scene he must have known well, Helmingham lying not far from Woodbridge. Constable, however, was dilatory over executing commissions, so that it is not until the next year that we hear of progress being made. In his journal for September 2, 1825, he noted: "Leslie very much pleased with the picture of the Wood for Mr. Pulham."

Even then the work may not have been completed, for Constable later on speaks of it as having been painted in 1826.¹⁰ Pulham being a man of modest means, the picture had to be of moderate size, and the price would correspond (for another landscape by Constable he had paid 20 guineas in 1818). This version is distinguished by the presence of a heron in the foreground, and there are no figures on the footbridge. We shall return to Mr. Pulham's picture later.

The fourth version was painted in 1830, and was originally intended for James Carpenter the bookseller of Bond Street, who added a profitable sideline to his business by buying pictures from needy artists at bargain prices. Some time before, Constable had sold Carpenter an oblong version of *The Lock*, and had then decided that he would like to have it back in order to present it to the Royal Academy as his diploma picture after his election in 1829. Carpenter agreed to return the picture, but only on condition that the artist should deposit 100 guineas until June 1830, by which time he was to have painted for the owner another picture of the same size. Constable signed an agreement to this effect,¹¹ and the money was then deposited with Sir Claude Hill, a well-known banker.

Constable began with every intention of fulfilling his promise. Apparently it was understood that the new picture should be a *Helmingham Dell*, and on February 15 he wrote to James Carpenter's son William: "If 'your Wood' is not finished by the Exhibition, I will hang myself on one of the trees!!!"¹² There was some delay, however, and in an undated note to Leslie of about this time Constable wrote:

I have laid by my Wood, to enable me to pay off some old and just debts to Smith, Woodburn & others—which I shall have ready for the "show" I hope.¹³

Part of the delay may have been due to the fact that Constable had decided to have the subject engraved for the first number of his *English Landscape*. On February 22 he sent Lucas a *Wood* for this purpose, apparently the large sketch; and on the 26th he asked Lucas not to neglect the engraving, as he was "almost in need of the picture," evidently meaning to use it as the model for

his new version.¹⁴ Then on March 18 he wrote again to William Carpenter: "Your picture is getting on nicely—but I will not halloo 'till I am out of the Wood."¹⁵

But just as the painting was nearly ready for the Academy Constable changed his mind about letting Carpenter have it. On April 2 he wrote to him:

I hope you will not be disturbed if I request you to decline the picture I am now about—and allow me to forfeit the 100 guineas now in the hands of Sir C. Scott's banking house.

I beg you to believe that I have no offer for the picture—nor have I any other feeling towards you of the smallest disrespect, on the contrary am truly sensible of your continual friendship for me. I have no motive whatever in asking this favor of you than that the picture be my own property and that I do it and send it to the Academy independently of all other considerations.¹⁶

Carpenter reluctantly consented to let the picture go, but retaliated by demanding the return of the frame just as it was leaving for Somerset House. To this Constable replied:

I return the frame as you commanded me to do so, but I certainly did expect that it was included in the "100 guineas." . . . I had hoped that you would not have made it a matter of defence, especially as I forbore to intrude a picture upon you after I had reason to believe that any picture of mine was not what you liked.¹⁷

The painting was sent round to the Academy on April 7 as Constable's property and appeared in the exhibition as No. 19, *Dell Scene, in the park of the Right Hon. the Countess of Dysart, at Helmingham, Suffolk*.¹⁸ But relations between the two men were not improved when Carpenter offered to let Constable have some books and furniture in lieu of what he had lost. On August 20 Constable wrote to William Carpenter:

Talking of your father, I am afraid he has quite "shaken me off." I had no idea that *he* was the person that had reason to be angry, as I was not. I considered the return of my hundred guineas to be hopeless when he offered in its stead some books, and second hand furniture, from Milborne. His demand of the frame after I had considered I had paid for it! and sending to demand it within an hour of my picture going to the Exhibition, are things equally unaccountable, and I fear they too plainly speak for themselves.¹⁹

The incident continued to rankle in Constable's mind and in November he wrote to William Carpenter once more:



Fig. 2. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Scene in Helmingham Park, Suffolk*
The Art Gallery of Toronto, gift of Rueben Wells Leonard Estate, 1936



Fig. 3. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Upright Landscape*
Mrs. H. L. Fison Collection



Fig. 4. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Tree at Helmingham*
Leeds City Art Gallery

With respect to the unfortunate picture of the Wood, pray do me the justice to believe, that my conduct is *not* "wholly unjustifiable"—as you have hitherto supposed.

At all events I could not have compelled your father to relinquish the picture—but I submitted to him if it was not for the better that we were as soon as possible independent of each other that our acquaintance might last. I had been long . . . by him but that I did not mind. In withholding the picture, and forfeiting the hundred guineas I was entirely influenced by the last act of his conduct—that of the tender of *old furniture and books*—instead of the honourable return of my deposit-money, the hundred guineas. This he ought to have done when he so handsomely expressed satisfaction at the new pictures. You must see that as a gentleman I could only pursue one course.

I felt the return of my hundred guineas actually deposited, hopeless. This was too bad in itself—and the Jewish manner of doing it was worse. I say nothing of his sending to demand the frame (which I shall always consider my property) the very hour before it was going to the Academy—without any previous intimation that he meant to demand it. This bears the appearance at least of deep malignity.²⁰

The upshot was that the picture, which dates itself from the spattering of white paint and is distinguished by the presence of three deer in the background, remained in Constable's studio until the time of his death. In the sale which followed, it was bought by his friend John Allnutt for fifty-four guineas and is now with the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City (Fig. 1; 44½ × 51½ in.).²¹

We may now return to the earlier version painted for Mr. Pulham in 1826. At the beginning of 1833 Constable told Leslie that he was on the point of finishing "a small Wood," a commission of long standing.²² The commission came from Robert Ludgate of Sussex Place near Regent's Park, a well-known collector; but the picture Constable was finishing for him was not, as might at first sight be supposed, a new version of *Helmingham Dell*. Pulham had died in 1830 when Constable bought his picture back from the widow in order, he says, to save it from going to a country auction. Ludgate, a frequenter of Constable's studio, having seen and admired the painting, had asked the artist to retouch it for him, coming round himself to the studio to watch this being done.²³ No payment was to be made, the retouched picture being exchanged with Ludgate for "two or three old pictures, worth altogether about ten or twenty pounds," according to Constable.

At Ludgate's request the picture was then sent to the exhibition held by the

British Institution in Pall Mall under the title of *A Dell Scene* after receiving the approbation of William Seguiet, who had also seen it in the studio. Mr. Ludgate died while the show was on and at the close the painting was returned to Constable. Mrs. Ludgate now decided to send her husband's collection for sale at Christie's through her friend Major Chapman, who included the *Dell Scene*, but owing to the delay in fetching it from Constable's house it arrived too late to be listed in the printed catalogue of sale²⁴ and was not displayed until the end of the auction on June 29. The result was that when it came to be offered from the rostrum its authenticity was doubted, no bids were received and Mr. Christie promptly knocked it down under the impression, he afterwards explained, that he was "saving it for the widow." Constable says that several of his admirers, including Sheepshanks, Purton and Allnutt, had attended the sale and would have bid up to thirty-five guineas for the picture but had gone away on not finding it there.

Here the matter might have ended if Constable had not previously acquired an inveterate enemy in the art critic of the *Morning Chronicle*, who lost no opportunity to attack him. This was a chance not to be missed, and in giving an account of the sale the critic went out of his way to remark:

Another lot we may notice, as its public estimation may serve to teach a little modesty to the Royal Academicians in their demands. A good sized *Dell Scene* by Mr. Constable, R.A., in his usual style, and we should say preferable to anything he has in the present exhibition at the Academy, was knocked down for fifty shillings.

Naturally Constable was much upset, for the misleading account of what occurred was liable to deter possible patrons from purchasing his works. He consulted his legal adviser, Mr. Spedding, but was dissuaded by his friends from taking action in the matter and contented himself with venting his feelings in a letter written to his secretary Charles Boner on July 27:

I have little doubt but such villany will be unkenneled in time. What can such a man be but an assassin, to destroy character, livelihood, & everything else, & let himself out for hire to write against everything good, for pay?²⁵

Some of the facts given here are taken from a long letter²⁶ written by Constable on November 12 to Charles Scovell, who bought the picture. It later passed to his son Colonel E. W. Scovell, who lent it to the International Exhibition at London in 1874. It seems hardly credible that the hoodoo should still have attached to the painting and that the next attack should have come



Fig. 5. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Helmingham Dell*
Collection of A. W. Bacon, Esq.



Fig. 6. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Helmingham Dell*
Paris, Louvre



Fig. 7. JOHN CONSTABLE, *The Dell of Helmingham*
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, McFadden Collection



Fig. 8. JOHN CONSTABLE, *Dell Scene, Helmingham Park*
The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection

from one of Constable's own children—but so it was. Captain Charles Constable wrote a letter to the *Times* denouncing the *Dell Scene* as having been falsely attributed to his father. To this Colonel Scovell was able to make a convincing reply by quoting the letter written by the artist to his own father in 1833; and when the picture appeared for a second time at Christie's in 1883, no further question of its authenticity arose and it was sold for close on a thousand pounds. It is now in the John G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (Fig. 8).

We may here go back to the mezzotint published in 1830 under the title of *A Dell in Helmingham Park, Suffolk*. On September 18, 1829, Constable had written to Samuel Lane: "The sketch of the Wood is so piled up with others before & behind it that I cannot get at it—come and look for it yourself."²⁷

It may have been this that led Constable to think of Helmingham Dell as a suitable subject for the first number of *English Landscape*, as well as for the painting he had promised James Carpenter. The sketch used for the engraving must have been the large one of 1823 (Fig. 6) which it most nearly resembles, the cow being added at the proof stage. The mezzotint does not seem to have attracted the same attention from forgers as have others in the same series.

The four paintings reproduced here are the only versions in oils resembling the engraving that can now be traced. A number of *Helmingham Dell* scenes are recorded, but without sufficient details to identify them; and the title has been extended to include pictures of a different design.²⁸ There is, for example, *The Dell of Helmingham* in the McFadden Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 7; 29½ × 37½ in.). The title may be correct but it will be seen that the design is quite different from the rest, and nothing is known of the history of the picture before it was exhibited by Sir H. Thompson at the Royal Academy in 1873.

¹ A transcript of this letter was supplied to W. T. Whitley by a member of the Dunthorne family in 1939.

² Few of these drawings have survived; examples are at Oldham and Cambridge, and there are drawings entitled *Petworth* which are more likely to have been done at Helmingham.

³ The painting at Toronto was at one time supposed to be by Gainsborough. Holmes listed a *View in Helmingham Park* under 1801, noting that it was in the manner of Gainsborough.

⁴ A drawing, *The Dell at Helmingham in 1800*, was lot 132 in the Isabel Constable sale at Christie's on June 17, 1892, bought by Leggatt's.

⁵ Acquired by A. W. Bacon from Shepherd's in 1908 and likely to have come from one of the family collections sold towards the end of the last century; see also note 28. Exhibited Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1933; Guildhall, 1952; and for some time on loan to the Birmingham City Art Gallery.

⁶ Letter in the Plymouth Collection.

⁷ Presented by P. M. Turner. Earlier history obscure but possibly lot 29 in the Constable sale of 1838, *View in Helmingham Park*, sketch for a picture, bought by Swabey for 15½ guineas. Exhibited Louvre, 1935; Tate Gallery, 1937.

- 8 Letter in the Constable Collection.
- 9 In the Plymouth Collection.
- 10 In his letter of 1833 to Charles Scovell.
- 11 Formerly in the Westley Manning Collection, not dated but obviously written in 1829.
- 12 In the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 13 In the British Museum.
- 14 Letters in the Fitzwilliam Museum.
- 15 In the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 16 Letter belonging to Mr. J. F. Leslie.
- 17 We have only an extract in a dealer's catalogue.
- 18 Constable's own list of exhibits is in the Pierpont Morgan Library.
- 19 Extract from a catalogue.
- 20 Letter in the Plymouth Collection.
- 21 Lot 73 in the sale of 1838. Afterwards with F. T. Rufford, 1857; H. McConnell, 1862-86; J. J. Hill, W. Butterworth, 1946-57. Exhibited Manchester, 1857; International, 1862; Royal Academy, 1887. For reviews of the 1830 exhibition see Whitley's *Art in England, 1821-37, 1930*, p.194.
- 22 Letter in the British Museum.
- 23 Possibly the occasion for Leslie's story that Constable was one day beset with a great many suggestions from a very shallow source while finishing *Helmingham Dell*. After adopting some of them he felt inclined to take a stand, which he did by saying to his adviser: "Very true; but don't you see that I might go on and make this picture so good that it would be good for nothing."
- 24 In the auctioneer's private catalogue it is entered in pen and ink as no. 45, *Constable, Landscape*.
- 25 See also letter to Boner of July 19: both letters are in the Plymouth Collection and the full text is given in *Correspondence and other Memorials of John Constable, R.A.* (typescript in the Victoria and Albert Museum).
- 26 Photo in the Fitzwilliam Museum; full text in Shirley's *Mezzotints by Lucas after Constable, 1930*, pp. 110-11.
- 27 Letter in the Plymouth Collection.
- 28 Some of the following entries may refer to the Bacon sketch: (1) *The Dell, Helmingham Park*; 27½ × 35½; J. Graham, 1894, bt. Gooden, 230 gns. (2) *The Dell at Helmingham Park*; no size; exhibited and sold at Leggatt's, 1899. (3) *Helmingham Dell*; 28 × 36; Clare, 1904. (4) *Helmingham Dell*; 28 × 36½; T. McLean, 1908; bt. Bone, 150 gns. About a dozen pictures are recorded with such titles as *Helmingham* or *Helmingham Park*, some of which may have shown the dell. Lord Fairhaven has an early study of birches in *Helmingham Park*, said to have come from the Constable family. No. 2660 in the National Gallery, London, formerly called *Dell in Helmingham Park*, is a study of a fallen log only, from the Salting Collection; 21 × 30.

PIAZZETTA'S "PASTORALE"—AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION

By A. C. SEWTER AND D. MAXWELL WHITE

OF Piazzetta's series of so-called "pastoral idylls," the *Indovina* of the Venetian Accademia, the *Idillio sulla spiaggia* of the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, and the *Pastorale* of The Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 1),¹ all painted probably about 1740-1741, the one to which such a label is most appropriate is certainly the last. The picture shows a young Italian country-woman, dressed in red and creamy white, seated on a rock by the edge of a stream. In front of her, scantily clad in chestnut brown, stands a chubby little boy with his right hand extended to stop two dogs from pursuing a duck which blunders in its fright into a clump of reeds. Under his left arm the child carries a basket of grapes; there is a spray of vine leaves in his hand; and his face wears an expression of rapt attention. In the background appear the half-figures of two young peasants. One of these, of somewhat disgruntled appearance, leans with his elbows on the rock, supporting his face with his hands, while his companion has his back half turned to the spectator. The painting is carried out in warm, well contrasted colors and the figures, rendered with great breadth of style, are set against the deep blue of a typical Piazzetta sky and the dark green of the water which occupies the foreground.

The picture was first published in 1917, when it was on the London art market, by Tancred Borenius, who noted that it shows well some of the most characteristic features of the artist's style, such as his "spirited composition" and his "bold contrasts of light and shade."² It was again discussed in an admirable article by Daniel Catton Rich on the occasion of its donation to the Art Institute in 1937 by Mr. and Mrs. Worcester.³ It has been acclaimed on several occasions by Rodolfo Pallucchini, who in 1936 wrote as appreciatively as Mr. Rich of the sensuous brushwork and the general mastery of the composition, stressing the effect of striking contrast whereby the figures, rendered with robust plasticity, seem to come towards the observer out of a background showing little depth of pictorial space,⁴ and who more recently has referred to it as "uno dei più limpidi capolavori del Piazzetta."⁵

With regard to its subject matter, however, the *Pastorale* has never received adequate comment. Pallucchini, indeed, concluded his observations on it with

the remark that "Hier gestaltet der Piazzetta einen Augenblick vollen Lebens, ohne allen 'Inhalt,' einzig erfüllt von den figürlichen Wirklichkeitswerten der Composition,"⁶ which amounts to abandoning the problem; while Rich, after asking the question "What does the picture represent?" added the following sensitive but groping observations:

It has been the custom to classify such a work as an essay in genre but between the Dutch Little Masters and Piazzetta lies an immense distance. The suggestion has been made that the Worcester painting represents gypsies; even if it does, this tells us little more. Rather it seems that these pastoral scenes and idylls on the shore continue the pagan feeling of the Renaissance. Such a painting is the heir to the poetic semi-mythological compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not that Piazzetta avoids a peculiar, eighteenth century overtone. A blend of realism and fantasy lies behind the conception; we are in no doubt that the artist has carefully observed how light falls on real models but more important is his success in uniting these realistically observed figures into a single romantic mood. Here—as in the "Scherzi di Fantasia" of Tiepolo—we find the typical rococo imagination playing over the heroic themes of an earlier day. In the largeness of vision and simplicity of feeling, Piazzetta is the heir of the Venetian Renaissance, the clear descendant of Giorgione and Titian.⁷

Francesco Algarotti once wrote that Piazzetta was "le Peintre le plus élaboré et le plus studieux de tous, mais extêmement [sic] long, et très difficile à gouverner."⁸ With this remark in mind the present writers have attempted in two recent studies⁹ to show that the *Indovina* and the *Idillio sulla spiaggia* should be regarded not simply as genre paintings without "content," but as highly complex allegorical or symbolical creations produced through the adoption of a kind of *montage* technique and the patient re-handling of favorite motives over a number of years. Similarly, we feel the *Pastorale* also contains superimposed layers of meaning. Each of the figures in it is presented with striking immediacy, but the general effect depends less upon this superficial naturalism than upon the enigmatic relationships between them, and upon the suggestion, emerging from the manner of presentation, of some general theme of timeless and universal significance animating the picture as a whole. In this respect the *Pastorale* stands, together with the other paintings of this group, at the highest level of Piazzetta's achievement. What we wish to attempt here is an analysis, however provisional and inadequate, directed towards the clarification of this underlying theme.

In our article on the *Indovina*¹⁰ it was suggested that allegory, though but



Fig. 1. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Pastorale*
The Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 2. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Reason, Virtue and Good Fame* (drawing for the *antiporta* to vol. VI of Bossuet's *Oeuvres*, 1747)
Turin, Biblioteca Reale

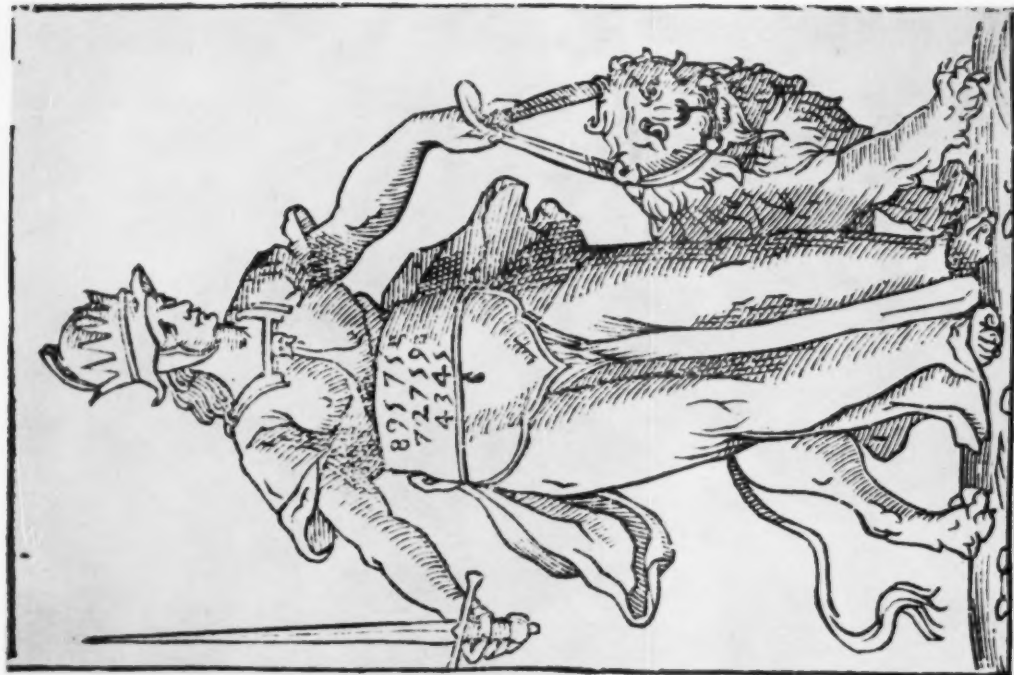


Fig. 3. The emblematic representation of *Reason*, from an engraving in Ripa's *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603

little studied in relation to Piazzetta, yet constituted an important aspect of his production. Besides the four well-known ceiling medallions of *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, *Temperance* and *Justice* painted for the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, Piazzetta provided a considerable number of allegorical drawings for book illustration from as early as 1724. Among these the most relevant to our present purpose is the series of *antiporte* illustrating seven of the ten volumes of the collected works of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet,¹¹ published in Venice between 1736 and 1757 by Giovan Battista Albrizzi.¹² The first step towards the elucidation of the artist's possible intentions in the *Pastorale* is to examine a little more fully than hitherto some of these allegorical *antiporte*.

In Italian art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the taste for personification had a remarkable flowering. Emile Mâle, one of the first art historians to realize the importance of the iconographical approach to the art of this period, has described how, while studying the works of Bernini in the Villa Borghese at Rome he noticed with some surprise that his figure of *Verità* holds in her right hand a sunlike disc darting forth rays of light, and rests her foot on a globe. He was perplexed both by the presence of such attributes and by the problems of interpretation which they presented.¹³ He perceived that there existed a kind of allegorical language with a vocabulary and laws of its own, and it was not until he came across a certain book in the library of Collegio Romano that he was able to solve the mystery to his satisfaction. This was, of course, the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa,¹⁴ a celebrated dictionary of allegories and personifications, which is clearly as important an instrument for the study of the art of Piazzetta as Mâle found it for the whole of the Baroque period.

At first sight the subject matter and significance of the Bossuet *antiporte* (which lack any captions or explanatory titles) seem extremely obscure. Study of them on the lines suggested by Mâle, however, soon reveals how closely they are related, both to the substance of the text which they illustrate and to the Italian iconographical tradition codified almost 150 years earlier in the *Iconologia*. Comparison of the *antiporta* to the sixth volume of the Bossuet (Fig. 2), for example, with Ripa is sufficient to demonstrate that the figures represented are the personifications of *Ragione*, *Virtù* and *Fama Buona*. In the same way the figures in several, though not all, of the other *antiporte* are readily identifiable. Piazzetta was obviously well acquainted with Ripa's text.¹⁵ His presentation of allegorical material, however, was no slavish following of precedent. He frequently omitted altogether attributes mentioned by Ripa

which, for one reason or another, would have appeared superfluous or far-fetched in the context of his own particular drawing. In his delineation of *Ragione*, for example, he makes no use of "una candida benda, dipinta tutta con notte [*sic*] d'Aritmetica,"¹⁶ which figures prominently in Ripa's illustration (Fig. 3); nor does this same figure wear a "corona d'oro" on her head. In deference, perhaps, to the general conformity of effect in a composition in which none of the other figures wears a headdress, Piazzetta has discreetly transferred this particular attribute, in the form of a helmet, into the hands of an attendant *putto*. Still more interesting is the way in which, in the *antiporta* to volume I (Fig. 4), he has converted the globe of the world, traditionally placed beneath the foot of *Verità* (denoting that "ella è superiore a tutte le cose del mondo"),¹⁷ into the stone ball ornamenting the corner of a balustrade, so that it becomes part of the architectural setting and serves as a link between the world of allegory and the world of "natural" forms, to which the portrait of Bossuet himself, on the left of the plate, belongs. This transformation of allegory in the direction of the "natural," and conversely of the "natural" in the direction of allegory, and this intermingling of different orders of reality within a single composition, is indeed typical of Piazzetta's way of thought. Human figures appear side by side with personifications of abstract ideas, and even the figure of Bossuet himself in the same illustration, though clearly on the surface a "natural" presentation of the great Catholic divine, is also to be understood as containing an implicit reference to *Studio*, whom Ripa describes as "Un Giovane di volto pallido, vestito d'habito modesto, sarà a sedere, con la sinistra mano terrà un libro aperto, nel quale miri attentamente, con la destra una penna da scrivere, e gli sarà a canto un lume acceso, e un Gallo."¹⁸ It can hardly be accidental, moreover, that this same "portrait" bears a close resemblance (though in reverse) to the figure of St. John the Evangelist in the act of writing the Gospel in Piazzetta's altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* in the church of San Filippo at Cortona.¹⁹ Thus the portrait is provided with deeper layers of meaning evoked by the associated ideas of Study and Divine Inspiration. The mode of thought revealed by this analysis is fundamental for an understanding of the full implications of the major works of painting with which we are concerned.

Another striking example of this deliberate mixing of different orders of reality is the *antiporta* to volume III of the Bossuet (Fig. 5), where the symbolic personifications of *Sapienza Divina* and *Religione Vera Cristiana*, in the upper part of the composition, are placed in opposition to a group of Protestant



Fig. 4. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Bossuet Inspired by Faith (?) and Truth* (drawing for the *antiporta* to vol. I of Bossuet's *Oeuvres*, 1736), Turin, Biblioteca Reale

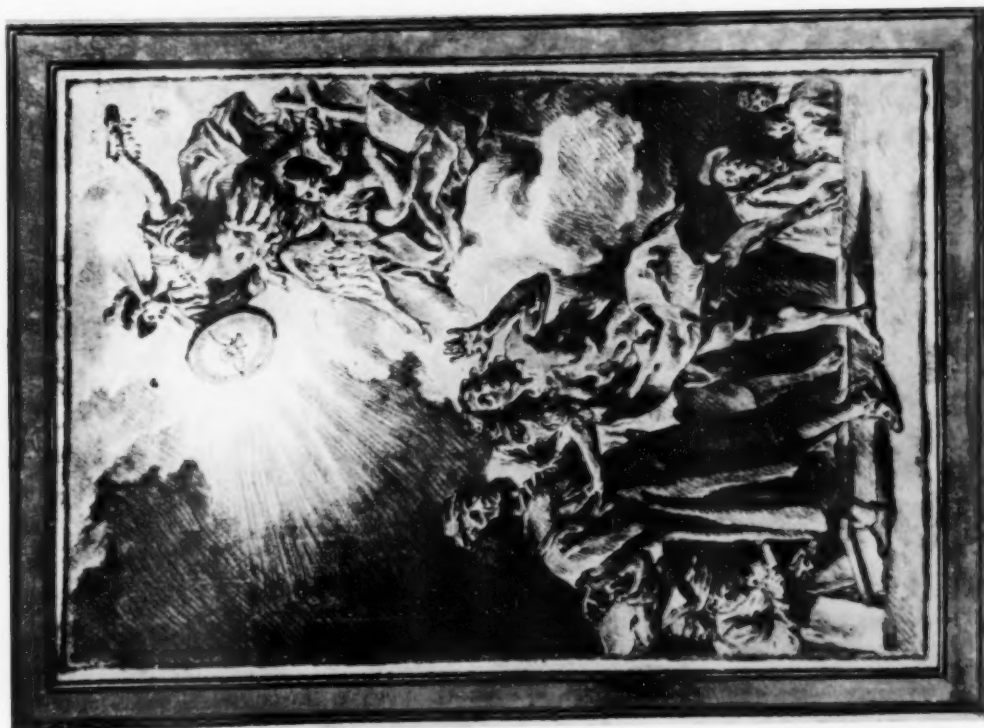


Fig. 5. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Divine Wisdom and True Christian Religion driving out Heresy* (drawing for the *antiporta* to vol. III of Bossuet's *Oeuvres*, 1738), Turin, Biblioteca Reale



Fig. 6. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Studies for Arminius and the Remonstrants*
G. Fiocco Collection



Fig. 7. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Studies for Arminius and the Remonstrants*
G. Fiocco Collection

reformers, among whom is *Heresia*.²⁰ Our point could not be more clearly exemplified, for this last abstraction is represented as giving a very real push in the back to one of the reformers. Many other instances could be cited. We here content ourselves with one further illustration, of a somewhat different order, by referring to the little vignette on the title page to volume I of the same work, frequently repeated elsewhere in Albrizzi's publications.²¹ This appears to be no more than a representation of Venice (as a female figure wearing the Doge's crown and ermine cape, with a sceptre in her right hand and an open book in her left) seated upon the winged Lion of St. Mark. This emblem, however, also bears a close correspondence with the iconography of *Cognizione delle cose* as described in Ripa,²² and there can be little doubt that this double reference was intended.

These few examples should suffice to demonstrate not only that Piazzetta was fully cognizant of the Italian tradition of allegorical iconography, but also that, using this as his starting point and remaining in many respects remarkably faithful to it, he at the same time tended to recreate the old formulas and to supply them with fresh infusions of vitality. This he did by bringing his personifications into intimate juxtaposition with the "natural," moving into and out of allegory with consummate skill, and attaching different levels of meaning to his figures. And just as he suppressed or radically transformed those iconographical elements which were insusceptible of being brought into harmony with his purpose, so, on the other hand, elements in a composition which at first sight appear to be no more than transcriptions from the everyday world, or mere genre, are also subtly transformed to accord with this system of multi-level imagery.²³

We can, in fact, observe this process in operation. A series of three drawings by Piazzetta belonging to Professor Giuseppe Fiocco, of a hitherto unrecognized type, were included in the exhibition "Cento antichi disegni veneziani" at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in 1955 when they were mistakenly attributed to Pietro Longhi.²⁴ Two of them (Figs. 6 and 7) are studies of three seated men wearing hats and cloaks; in the third (Fig. 9) there are three standing figures and two seated figures in various attitudes. They are evidently studies taken directly from life, hastily sketched in black chalk with broadly indicated shadows in diagonal hatching. It is surprising that Fiocco, one of the first Italian art historians to give serious attention to Piazzetta,²⁵ did not recognize the relationship between these sheets and the headpieces to books IX (Fig. 8) and XIV (Fig. 10) of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*,²⁶

the original drawings for which are in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin.²⁷ From these we may identify the uppermost figure in Figure 9 as that of Calvin preaching, and the four figures accompanying him as the principal members of his audience. Five of the six figures on the other two sheets are the seated men in the illustration of *Jacobus Arminius and the Remonstrants* (Fig. 10); the sixth figure on the extreme right in Figure 6 being an alternative version of that on the left. In the latter group the attitudes are those of listening and remonstrance, in the former of listening and doubt. Any reservations which may be felt on this score may perhaps be removed by reference to other illustrations of the same work, for instance the headpiece to book V, representing *Les agitations, les regrets, les incertitudes de Mélancton* (Fig. 11). We know from Piazzetta's familiar drawings of heads in many collections how fascinated he was by the subtlest shades of facial expressions. These sketches and illustrations show also his care and skill in the rendering of expressive postures. The most telling observation, however, that emerges from the comparison of Fiocco's sketches with the finished drawings collected in the Turin album, is that the isolated individual figures of the sketches are brought into a new and dramatic inter-relationship in the final drawings.

These remarks have not led us so far from the Chicago picture as might appear, for the left of the two standing figures in Figure 9 is also the man standing on the extreme right of the *Pastorale*, the intermediate stage in his enlargement to this scale being provided by the fine drawing in the Museo Civico del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.²⁸ It becomes clear, therefore, that his attitude must have been intended by the artist to signify listening and doubt or hesitation. As it happens, in the Roger de Cérenville Collection in Lausanne²⁹ we have another drawing, related, though less closely, to the youth supporting his cheek on his fist, in which the eyes are lowered in the act of reading from a book which is open before him. The significance of this attitude may perhaps be described as "absorbed attention." The same posture, but in reverse, occurs in a drawing in a Venetian private collection, said to represent an evangelist.³⁰ Still another version, glowering fiercely and with both hands supporting his chin, may be found in the lower left corner of Piazzetta's *Resurrection* in the Bologna Gallery, where his role seems to be that of a doubter.³¹

By this somewhat roundabout route we thus gain some further clues to the interpretation of the *Pastorale*. The next question is: What is it to which these uncommitted background figures, so full of doubt and hesitation, attend with

such absorption? We are left with the monumental figure of the shepherdess and the child with the basket of grapes and the vine leaves—and, of course, with the child's action of stopping the strife between the dogs and the duck. These elements now require exploration.

Putti playing with dogs or birds, and dogs chasing birds, are of course quite common motives in Piazzetta's head and tailpieces for Albrizzi's edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1745), as well as for other works. To quote but two instances, the full-page vignette at the end of Canto XII of the Tasso shows a nude boy scaring two ducks (Fig. 12), and the tailpiece to book VII of the *Histoire des Variations*³² shows a dog chasing a bird, with two *putti*. But in the *Pastorale* this Arcadian theme is no longer treated as a mere *jeu d'esprit*—on the contrary it acquires a new seriousness and becomes the basic element of the whole composition.³³ Disposed with deliberation in the left and right lower corners of the canvas, the animals are brought into relationship with the central figures by means of the diagonal lines of the rock on the left and of the duck's outspread wings on the right, lines which are taken up by the outstretched right hand of the child, and by his left hand holding the rim of the basket, where it is emphasized by a brilliant highlight. These diagonals are, indeed, the essential framework of the composition from a formal point of view, linking the dogs in the lower left corner with the two men in the right background, and the duck with the figure of the woman, and intersecting at the boy's head almost in the center of the canvas. There can be no mistaking the intention to make the boy's action in stopping the pursuit the central theme of the picture. And remembering Piazzetta's preoccupation during the years just preceding this painting with multi-level imagery on the one hand, and on the other with the illustration of the *Histoire des Variations*, is it too far-fetched to see in the action of the dogs and the duck an implicit pictorial reference to the doctrinal strife of the churches with which Bossuet had been centrally concerned?

If this is so, what then is signified in particular by the boy? He is, of course, on the surface simply an ordinary, if lovable and attractive, little peasant. Beneath this, however, we would suggest that there is in this figure an implied reference to Christ in his role of Peacemaker, the stiller of the tempest and the preacher on the seashore: a figure embodying in his person the idea of the unity of the church. The characteristic gesture of the outstretched arm, and the symbolical associations of the basket of grapes and the vine leaves all help to confirm this impression.

Similarly the peasant woman carries in her person something of the implications of a Madonna. If we are not mistaken, she was painted from the same model who served Piazzetta for the figure of the Virgin in a small canvas now in the Mario Viezzioli Collection, Milan,³⁴ and a few years later for the Madonna in the altarpiece of the Chiesa Arcipretale at Longarone,³⁵ as well as for the beautiful drawing of *A Girl Asleep* in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Fig. 13), where her attitude suggests a penitent Magdalene. In the *Pastorale*, however, the manner of her presentation is extremely ambiguous. The relaxation of her arm lying limply across the top of the rock, and the slight dishevelment of her costume, baring the right shoulder and all but exposing her breast, distinguish her sharply from any conventional or precise representation of the Virgin Mary. Her comportment, on the other hand, and particularly the expression on her face, with its air of mature experience and knowledge, qualifies the tolerance of her attitude with a certain calm and superior wisdom. If she is not exactly a Madonna, nor simply a peasant woman, neither can she be precisely identified with any of Ripa's allegories. All the same, it is just possible that this potent image may have been prompted by a recollection of Ripa's description of *Dottrina* (Fig. 14), transformed in the manner that we have seen to be typical of Piazzetta's thought:

Donna d'età matura, vestita di paonazzo, che sta a sedere con le braccia aperte, come volesse abbracciare altrui, con la destra mano terrà uno scettro, in cima del quale vi sia un Sole, haverà in grembo un libro aperto, e si veda dal Ciel sereno cadere gran quantità di rugiada.³⁶

Curiously enough, the book which is here mentioned as an attribute of *Dottrina*, as well as the book which, as we have seen, was associated in the De Cérenville drawing with one of the background figures, is missing in the picture. In their place are the child and the rock. The sceptre of Ripa's description, too, is replaced by the crook of a shepherdess. These associated ideas lead us to suppose that, in some degree, this enigmatic figure may perhaps best be understood within the context of the painting as symbolizing for Piazzetta the Roman Catholic Church. If this is so, it would indicate that the whole conception of the picture reflects a profound understanding of the position adopted by Bossuet. This great champion of Catholic orthodoxy took the view that, since they had left the Roman fold, the Protestants had wandered in a trackless maze. His efforts had been to show that the reformed churches "had differed all along, that they differed still, and that to differ was the very essence of their being." Little by little they would fall asunder "until



Fig. 8. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Calvin Preaching*
(drawing for the headpiece to Book IX of the *Histoire des Variations*, Bossuet, *Oeuvres*,
vol. II, 1738), Turin, Biblioteca Reale



Fig. 9. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA,
Studies for Calvin Preaching
G. Fiocco Collection



Fig. 10. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Arminius and the Remonstrants*
 (drawing for the headpiece to Book XIV of the *Histoire des Variations*, Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, vol. III, 1738)
 Turin, Biblioteca Reale



Fig. 11. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *The Restless Doubts and Hesitations of Melanchthon*
 (drawing for the headpiece to Book V of the *Histoire des Variations*, Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, vol. II, 1738)
 Turin, Biblioteca Reale

at last they came to dust.”” He had no desire to foment further discord, but rather to reveal truth by argument and, however paradoxical this might seem, to achieve thereby “la réconciliation des esprits.” “Dans le fond,” he wrote, his *Histoire des Variations* was “beaucoup plus tourné à la paix qu’à la dispute.””

Piazzetta’s *Pastorale*, in his own highly personal way, seems to us to stand as an embodiment of Bossuet’s attitude in pictorial form: the mature outcome of long and profound meditations on the themes which he had illustrated piecemeal for the volumes of Albrizzi’s edition. The primarily pastoral subject matter—in itself harmonious—has been deliberately heightened and enriched in order to make a statement emphasizing the essentially passive, yet comforting and wise presence of the mother church and the “true doctrine,” and the supreme role of Christ in checking strife between the contending sects of the Protestant world.

In such an analysis as we have attempted, it has to be admitted that the problems involved defy any simple or hard and fast equation of this symbol with this or that abstract entity. Piazzetta’s thought did not deal in exact equivalents but with elusive and subtle associations. In trying to clarify these associations one necessarily runs the risk of suggesting that they may have been fully conscious and articulate in the mind of the artist. Such an assumption is by no means part of our thesis. It is more probable that much of the rich undercurrent of thought and feeling which we have attempted to bring to the surface remained hardly above the subconscious level in Piazzetta’s own mind. It is of the essence of his creativity, nevertheless, that pictorial themes familiar to him from use and re-use over a number of years were fused together in these major works, as if in the crucible of his imagination, so that these elements themselves eventually became quite transformed, and the resultant product acquired a far more profound significance than seems ever to have been realized. No less characteristic of Piazzetta in this phase of his activity is the fact that he seems never to have given these pictures titles that are of any use for the explanation of their meaning. The elusiveness of the pastoral idylls, which we hope not to have destroyed, constitutes a great part of their charm.

¹ Oil on canvas; 75½ × 56½ inches (191.8 × 143 cm.); in the Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection, ref. no. 37.68. With its pendant, the *Idillio sulla spiaggia*, the *Pastorale* was included in the inventory of Marshal Schulenburg’s Collection drawn up about 1743, where it is described as “Représentant une femme assise au naturel, avec un garçon entre les jambes, un panier de raisins en main, des chiens, qui aperçoivent un canard dans l’eau et deux hommes en distance.” (Cited by R. Pallucchini, “Opere tarde del Piazzetta,” *Arte Veneta*, I (1947), 112.) Both pictures are usually thought to have been removed to Prussia and sold to an English collector towards the end of the nineteenth century, though doubt has been cast

on this in "A Note on Marshal Schulenburg's Collection," *Arte Veneta*, XII (1958), 221, where M. Levey hazards the guess that the pair were in fact sold at the Schulenburg sale in London in 1775. Between its appearance at the 17th Century Gallery, London, in 1917 and its acquisition by Mr. and Mrs. Worcester, it passed through the hands of G. H. Winterbottom (sale, Christie's, 1935), G. Bode, M. D. Koetser, Jakob Heimann (Milan, 1936), and Paul Drey (New York, 1937). Several copies of the pair are known. One repetition of the *Idillio*, perhaps executed by Maggiotto, is in the Tonelleri Collection, Vicenza; another, from a second pair, was sold out of the Guidi Collection at Rome in 1901 and is now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. What was, perhaps, the corresponding replica of the *Pastorale* was in the Guido da Faenza sale, Rome, 1902, no. 414, though the catalogue of the Art Institute of Chicago claims this an item in the history of the original version. The picture has been frequently exhibited since its acquisition by Chicago: at Kansas City, "Venetian Paintings, Drawings and Prints," 1937-1938; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Tiepolo and his Contemporaries," 1938 (10); San Francisco, "Venetian Painting from the XVth through the XVIIIth Century," 1938 (48); Toledo, Ohio, "Four Centuries of Venetian Painting," 1940 (40); Appleton, Wisconsin, 1950; Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1951.

² Tancred Borenius, "Notes on Giovanni Battista Piazzetta," *Burlington Magazine*, XXX (1917), 10-16, repr.

³ Daniel Catton Rich, "A Masterpiece by Piazzetta," *Art Institute of Chicago Bulletin*, XXXI (1937), 97-100.

⁴ Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Ein wiedergefundenes Werk des Piazzetta," *Pantheon*, XVIII (1936), 250.

⁵ "Opere tarde del Piazzetta," *Arte Veneta*, I (1947), 3, note 6.

⁶ "Ein wiedergefundenes Werk des Piazzetta," *op. cit.* The *Pastorale* has also been mentioned or illustrated in A. Ravà, G. B. Piazzetta, 1921, pp. 31, 61 and pl. 39; Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of Old Pictures, the Property of the Late G. H. Winterbottom*, 1935, no. 104; *Art News XXXV* (1937), 18; *Art Digest*, XI (1937), 13; Art Institute of Chicago, *Catalogue of the Worcester Collection*, 1937, no. 22, pl. 16; Pallucchini, *Giovanni Battista Piazzetta*, 1942, p. 17 and pls. 36-37; and *Giovanni Battista Piazzetta*, 1956, pp. 34, 35, pls. 80, 82.

⁷ Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁸ H. Posse, "Die Briefe des Grafen Algarotti," *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, LII (1931), 51.

⁹ "Piazzetta's so-called 'Group on the Sea-shore,'" *Connoisseur* XCLIII (1959), 96-100; and "Piazzetta's so-called 'Indovina'—an Interpretation," *The Art Quarterly*, XXIII (1960), 125-138.

¹⁰ See note 9.

¹¹ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), bishop of Meaux, made his reputation as a pulpit orator, and in his later years as the champion of moderate Gallicism he engaged in religious controversy with various Protestant pastors. His main concern was with questions of Catholic doctrine, which he defended from an orthodox viewpoint against what he saw as the heretical opinions of the Reformed churches.

¹² On Piazzetta's friend and patron G. B. Albrizzi (1698-1777), the owner of one of the best equipped printing houses in eighteenth century Venice, see G. Morazzoni, *Il libro illustrato Veneziano del Settecento*, Milan, 1943, pp. 117-132.

¹³ *L'Art Religieux de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe siècle et du XVIIIe siècle*, 1951, p. 384.

¹⁴ *Iconologia, ovvero Descrittione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi*, Rome, 1593, and numerous later editions with illustrations and additions, until the greatly enlarged monumental edition of C. Orlandi, Perugia, 1764-1767, 5 vols. It was translated on several occasions into French, English and Dutch.

¹⁵ The edition used by Piazzetta would probably have been the ninth, published in Venice by Niccolò Pezzana, 1669.

¹⁶ *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, p. 424.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹⁹ Repr. Pallucchini, *Giovanni Battista Piazzetta*, 1956, pl. 97.

²⁰ Ripa, *op. cit.*, 1764 ed., V, 66-70; 1603 ed., pp. 429-30 and pp. 216-217.

²¹ It also figures, for example, as tailpiece to the *Réflexions sur un écrit de M. Claude, Bossuet, Oeuvres*, I, 272.

²² *Op. cit.*, 1603, p. 70.

²³ This tendency is paralleled in the many portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds in which his subjects are represented in various allegorical, divine or poetical roles, the intention being to lift the painting out of the humble category of simple imitation of the particulars of imperfect nature into a "higher" class of art.

²⁴ G. Fiocco, *Cento antichi disegni veneziani*, Venezia, 1955; Fig. 6, black chalk on white paper; 16×26 cm; Fig. 7, black chalk on white paper; 16.2×26.3 cm; Fig. 9, black crayon on white paper; 20.8×13 cm.

²⁵ See his article "Giovanni Battista Piazzetta," *Dedalo*, 1921 and *La pittura veneziana del Seicento e Settecento*, Bologna, 1929.



Fig. 12. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA, *Pastoral Scene*
(drawing for the tailpiece to Canto XII of Tasso,
Gerusalemme Liberata, Venice, 1745)
Turin, Biblioteca Reale



Fig. 13. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIAZZETTA,
A Girl Asleep
Windsor Castle, Royal Collection
(copyright reserved)



Fig. 14. Emblematic representation of
Doctrine from an engraving in Ripa's
Iconologia, Rome, 1603

²⁶ *Oeuvres*, II (1738), 397 and III (1738), 199.

²⁷ MS.Var. 205, f.38.

²⁸ Repr. Pallucchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 141.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 150.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 62.

³² Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, II (1738), 358.

³³ The interconnections between the pastoral idylls and the Bossuet and Tasso illustrations have by no means been exhausted by these observations. In writing of the Cologne picture (see note 9), for example, we omitted to note that the girl seen from behind occurs also in an identical pose in the headpiece to the Preface of the *Histoire des Variations*, one of the few illustrations to this work which appears to have no relation to the text. The drawing for it is in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (MS.Var.205, f. 27).

³⁴ Repr. Pallucchini, *op. cit.*, pl. 93.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 114.

³⁶ Ripa, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³⁷ Cf. P. Hazard, *The European Mind (1680-1715)*, 1953, p. 96.

³⁸ Preface to the *Histoire des Variations*, Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, II, 1738.

NOTE: We wish to record our appreciation of much help received from Manchester University Library in assembling the photographic material necessary for the preparation of this article.

A HIDDEN TREASURE IN BRITAIN, PART II: JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY

By CHARLES MERRILL MOUNT

OH, for some great attorney to cry out, "Objection, on grounds of irrelevance!"

The links of the chain would be broken. One scrap of evidence alone has been introduced to support an otherwise untenable contention. Its relevancy has never in any way been established. A legal mind could tear to pieces the faulty case that has been made for a ludicrous series of misattributions. For lack of one we have suffered the spectacle of first rate works in a recognizable American manner being awarded to a lesser British artist.

Deep in the limbo of forgotten things lie myriads of fine pictures painted by artists who did not sign their names. It is not an unbroken rule, but as we have seen in the case of Gilbert Stuart¹ one that operates to the detriment even of distinguished masters. A world that in its sophistication frequently looks on the signature as an unnecessary impedimenta, too easily forged, too often a value criterion, must acknowledge that it also plays its intended role of identification. An age like that of Stuart and Copley, when eminent masters eschewed this simple device, comes down to us as a period of extraordinary confusion in its attributions. And in England those same forces of polarization towards better-known names that operated on the *oeuvre* of Gilbert Stuart are affecting equally John Singleton Copley.

Like a wild dance of lost souls at Halloween, a frenzy of awkward blind movements, the best of Copley's early hard English portraits have been arriving beneath the ghostly banner of Nathaniel Dance. Individually the attributions are ridiculous enough; one could as soon believe Boulder Dam was constructed by beavers as that Dance, an indecisive executant who painted flatly, with weak modeling, and whose drawing and sense of proportion were susceptible of errors, created these forceful solidly painted portraits. By their increasing number these attributions have been drawing strength from each other, their very mass producing a wholly new category in Dance's production with which it is more difficult to wrestle. Far more able in death than ever he was in life, Dance has come to share with Chopin the distinction of producing his best works posthumously! And now this newly emerging

master, replete with a style he never had, borrowed mannerisms, and Copley's patrons, becomes a terrifying apparition that must be destroyed. Only by recognizing and exposing the phenomenon itself, by discarding the single false proof that has been brought forth, can more of Copley's works be prevented from dancing over to Nathaniel. Even so, the Briton remains the most notable non-begetter of recent times.

We in America, who so systematically have ignored the forty productive years Copley passed in England, must share some burden of blame for the expropriation of his masterpieces. Americans tend to read into his departure from the colonies a sign of disloyalty,² discounting him as an artist after he sailed out of Boston in June 1774. The moment perhaps was ill-chosen, but then an artist is not necessarily a prophet. For nine years Copley had been urged, by voices no less qualified than those of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, to come to London. It is unfortunate that the moment at which he finally summoned enough courage to do so was one that would, in a perspective hidden from him, make him appear unpatriotic. A more accurate view of his own position eradicates that impression; once departed, however, events caught up with him. Six months after, when political events at home had taken a decisive turn, he wrote from Rome (Dec. 4, 1774): "Should I now return to America, I should have nothing to do, and cannot think of going back to starve with my family."³ His sense of responsibility to those dependent upon him was the deciding factor in his career. A few months later he wrote with remarkable foresight (Palma, July 2, 1775):

I cannot think that the power of Great Britain will subdue the country, if the people are united, as they appear to be at present. I know it may seem strange to some men of great understanding that I should have such an opinion, but it is very evident to me that America will have the power of resistance until grown strong enough to conquer, and that victory and independence will go hand in hand.

Where his sympathies lay is obvious.

Americans need not feel uncomfortable over the English career of Copley. In a personal letter to the artist, George Washington expressed what should be the final word. December 12, 1792, he wrote to Copley that his artistic work, "highly valuable in itself, is rendered more estimable in my eye when I remember that America gave birth to the celebrated artist who produced it."⁴ Where the father of our nation found only praise it ill behooves others to cast blame. Like so much in this world, Copley's removal to London was



Fig. 1. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Thomas Nuthall* (attrib. to N. Dance)
London, The Tate Gallery



Fig. 2. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Lady Knatchbull* (attrib. to N. Dance), Maidstone, Kent, County Hall, on loan from collection of Lord Brabourne



Fig. 3. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Sir Edward Knatchbull* (7th Bart.) (attrib. to N. Dance), Maidstone, Kent, County Hall, on loan from collection of Lord Brabourne

the work of chance and Providence, rather than the express wish of man. And the remarkable growth he demonstrated in those later years is something of which we can well be proud. Surely no other artist starting as a colonial primitive ever reached the heights Copley did.

John Singleton Copley was thirty-six years old⁵ when he landed at Dover in 1774. He reached London July 10, where already having exhibited with the infant Royal Academy his name had preceded him. The portrait of *Thomas Nuthall* (Fig. 1), recently acquired by the Tate Gallery, allows us to shed new light on his professional prospects from the first moment he set foot in England. Still bearing its false attribution to Nathaniel Dance (1735-1811), all relationship to that artist can be eliminated after comparison is made to his own typical product.⁶ One could as easily believe the Sistine ceiling was painted by Fragonard. That unquestionably it is by Copley cannot be doubted after further comparison, this time with the American's recent colonial products. The harsh, sure, delineation of the head, the lack of transparency in its shadows, are reminiscent of the head of *Governor Thomas Mifflin*, as is the seizing of a somewhat unpleasant expression and the adenoidal appearance given by an over stressing of the nasal fold. There is in fact a remarkable similarity of expression in the two mouths, both so firmly shut yet suggestive of mobility, and of course the lighting is exactly alike.

Copley's historic portrait of *Samuel Adams* shares some of the same qualities of expression, with the added feature of demonstrating again how Copley characteristically allowed the light to touch the lids of a distant shadowed eye. The searching, scrutinizing painting of every bit of drapery in Nuthall's portrait further demonstrates Copley's authorship. The texture of the paint, the slight swish of the sable brush (a mannerism that would grow on him), the similarity of the dog with others done before he left America, all cry his name. Even the pose bears comparison with known works, such as the portrait of *Major Campbell*.⁷

A troublesome element regarding this portrait of Nuthall, once we admit it is by Copley, is that of time. After a short stay in England Copley went off to study in Italy, and the subject died before his return in July 1775.⁸ The only possible time when Copley could have painted this picture, therefore, lies during the period of his first stay in London, something that on first sight seems impossible. From the evidence of his own letters, written to his wife who remained behind in Boston, we learn that Copley consumed those weeks in social engagements and the normal courtesies of making himself known.

We can be certain that until the seventeenth of August he had done no painting, for he tells us so:

You remember I wrote you I would not remain to paint any of the King's subjects, but if he should do me the honor to sit to me himself, or the Queen, I did not say I would not paint them. I do not think the delay would lengthen our separation; perhaps it would shorten it. It would give me at once such an introduction to the court as would be of the utmost importance. The gentleman for whom I am to do them will allow me to finish them on my return from Italy. I should therefore paint only the heads now, if I am honored with the sitting, which I think uncertain, although Mr. Hutchinson has Lord Dartmouth to request it of the King, as a favor by which he should feel much honored and gratified.

Copley's early biographer, his granddaughter Mrs. Amory, tells us that the pictures were done, her information presumably drawn from further letters of another date which are not quoted in her book.⁹ The proposed method of proceeding, painting heads only and finishing the pictures on his return from Italy, admirably suits the manner we find in Nuthall's portrait, where the head and body are not perfectly aligned in perspective. The body gives an appearance of having been done from a model (or more likely a lay figure, that being the habit of the time—and nothing else can explain the perfection of Copley's draperies) posed high on the usual studio model stand, whereas the head is being looked down upon from slightly above, betraying that Nuthall was below the eye level of the artist. Likely he posed seated in a chair, for he seems to have been a man of moderate height and Copley was of short stature.

A further fact to be learned from Copley's letters, that he intended to leave London the morning of August 26, once again puts us in a quandary. This intelligence leaves us in the slightly frustrating position of supposing that Copley, always the slowest of workers, painted three heads and laid out three large canvases in the short space of under nine days. For Gilbert Stuart this feat would have been credible; for Copley it is patently impossible, so we must retrace our steps. Thomas Nuthall *must* have been painted in this way during those days of 1774. There is no other time when the two men could have been together, remembering that Nuthall was dead before Copley's return the following year. Therefore we must concede that it was the King and Queen that Copley painted at a later date. Copley, in fact, confirms this when he wrote from Rome (Oct. 26, 1775): "Mr. Wentworth will keep his commission for the portraits of their majesties for me." Previously in the same letter he had written, "I might have begun many pictures in London, if I had

pleased, and several persons are awaiting my return to employ me." One of these was Mr. Nuthall, who wanted his picture finished; two others must have been *Sir Edward* and *Lady Knatchbull*.

Even more than the portrait of Nuthall, the two pictures of *Sir Edward* and *Lady Knatchbull* (Figs. 2, 3) can be recognized as Copley's in every touch. Despite the new sophistication he attempts by the use of landscape backgrounds à la Reynolds, they are in fact still the solidly constructed, firmly painted figures of his provincial American style. Copley has not yet attempted to summarize draperies in the English mode. The ruffles *Sir Edward* carries at his wrists are the duplicates of others Copley had given *Joseph Sherbourne*¹⁰ and *John Hancock*¹¹ in America, nor had anyone in England ever finished hands in the inimitable manner of these, and those of Thomas Nuthall, a manner familiar enough to anyone who glances through Copley's American production. With them, as with heads and ruffles, every plane and fold is carefully studied and related to those surrounding.

There are no voids in his sense of form, no areas in which the perfect flow of part into part is not entirely explained. Here the tissue rises, there it falls, one knows precisely what shape is taken even by the unseen portions. To Gainsborough and Reynolds lace and ruffles were a series of jots and squiggles that from a distance would assume their proper appearance. To Copley these materials were textures whose convolutions were a unique pattern that had to be shown exactly. Synthesis was still beyond his horizon, as was the conventional softening of a sitter's features.

The Knatchbulls both are painted with astonishing understanding of form; but the light that throws *Lady Knatchbull*'s features into sculptural relief, at the same time betrays the length of her nose, the somewhat unpleasant set of her mouth and the inelegance of her several chins. By the standards of Copley's later American period she is a benign presence, seen with sympathy. By the courtly standards of London portraiture she is painted with unaccustomed harshness. Reynolds would have seen her with only one small shadow under her nose, her features melting together in an appearance of broad simple planes.

Sir Edward fared somewhat better at Copley's hands. His head is turned flush into the light, obviating the unsightly shadows that made his wife plump and middle aged. Still no courtier, Copley could do nothing but show in detail the broken jowl line of his subject, thus to some degree destroying his own efforts. Time has also added a certain hardness to this head. The dark

background against which Copley painted it, before the blue of the sky was brushed over, has come through around the contours, appearing to underscore the stiffness of edges. And as with the portrait of Nuthall, one is a trifle too much aware that the clothes were painted from a dummy.¹² A further similarity in both men's portraits is that unfortunately the left foot appears to be larger than the right.

It is upon these two Knatchbull portraits that the entire structure of attributions to Nathaniel Dance rests, and aware as we are from careful examination of the pictures themselves that they could not possibly have issued from Dance's brush, we are in a position to realize without hesitation that the association is at best an amusing example of the misuse of historical method. The only documentation in this complex of attributions is an entry in the diary of Sir Edward Knatchbull for October 20, 1773: "Paid Dance for painting and framing my wife's and my pictures for the Great Parlour, packing cases, etc., £195.6s."¹³ Let us immediately note that no direct connection between this diary entry and the pictures we have reproduced is demonstrated. None has ever been shown. We do not know how many times in the course of their lives the Knatchbolls were painted, though it seems certain that to a family of their significance, already an old line of Baronets to whom further honors soon would come, a multiplicity of portraits would be in order. Not only can we not be certain to which of his portraits Sir Edward referred, but, unfortunately, a request for information concerning whether Copley might not be mentioned in this same diary at a slightly later period has been unheeded.

Until direct connection between this diary entry and these *particular* pictures is established, or they are connected with *any* pictures irrefutably, the statement must remain an irrelevancy. As a definite evidence of Dance's authorship of the works in question it is inadmissible. Interesting as this entry is as an unconnected commentary on the arts in that period, it will prove of even greater value when the true portraits painted by Dance are found—assuming they still exist. For though beyond doubt it is proof that Sir Edward and his wife were painted by Dance, it does not say that *these* are those portraits, nor can it be made to prove that an artist of the second or third order like Nathaniel Dance painted portraits not only beyond his known capacities, but definitely in the style of Copley. Sparrows do not give birth to lions, and the Dances of this world are not capable of forging the manner of its Copleys.¹⁴ The only man in England who could so completely have imitated the idiosyncrasies of



Fig. 4. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Mrs. Thrale* (called Nathaniel Dance)
Whereabouts unknown



Fig. 5. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Charlotte Ogle* (until recently
attrib. to N. Dance), Collection of Lord Gage



Fig. 6. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *John Penn* (attrib. to Romney)
Whereabouts unknown

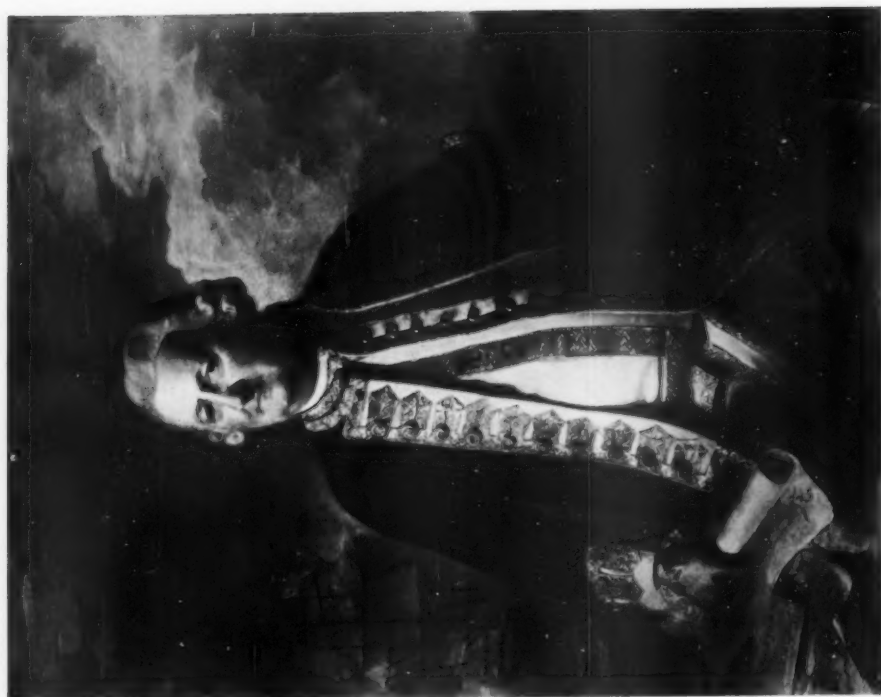


Fig. 7. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Admiral Clark Gayton*
Greenwich, National Maritime Museum

Copley's American works, painting detail after detail in the same manner, was the one man in England familiar with those works in America: Copley himself. This, the final proof, is irrefutable.

The portrait of *Charlotte Ogle* (Fig. 5), recently re-attributed to Copley after long being called a *Dance*,¹⁵ is useful in this context for its obvious similarities to the portrait of *Mrs. Thrale* (Fig. 4), another picture still mistakenly given to *Dance*.¹⁶ An essential difference that immediately strikes the beholder of these two works is the great clarity of Charlotte Ogle's face, compared with the murky quality given Mrs. Thrale by opaque shadows. Even before he left America this ambivalence is notable in Copley's work. The well-known portrait of *Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers*,¹⁷ in which Copley has turned the head into the light, following the example of an engraving after Reynolds, is a notably fresh, clear performance. It shares many mannerisms with the later work, most strikingly the certain way the mouth, strongly modeled in the midst of smooth, bland forms of cheek and chin, appears to separate out of its attached areas of flesh. Many Copleys of his first maturity have this characteristic treatment of the mouth, that feature seeming too precise against the bland forms in which it is set.

One can further create a catalogue of mannerisms peculiar to Copley that are found in the portrait of Mrs. Thrale. The structure of the head, resembling a cannon ball, and the fall of the shadows, both are identical with the portrait of *Mrs. Thomas Boylston*.¹⁸ The shadows in both have a tendency to well under the lower lip, turn the far edge of the chin and pick out the dark eyes. Mrs. Boylston holds her hands in the same position as Mrs. Thrale, a position that was a favorite with Copley, who also credits *Mrs. Michael Gill*¹⁹ and *Mrs. John Amory*²⁰ with this mannerism that was clearly a studio property. The hard, metallic, dart-like folds of the gown are comparable to so much of his American work,²¹ notably Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers and the especially lovely young woman with flying squirrel in the New York Public Library.²² The manner of picking out the design of the chair fabric is equally his, the sable brushes indulged for the grace of their touch. This seat has an even greater interest, for it is the same as in the portrait of Charlotte Ogle, and in both canvases is placed in precisely the same position. When we realize it is not a chair but the corner of a sofa into which these women have been nestled, we make the even more interesting discovery that it is the same sofa that appears in a third picture by Copley, the famous *Family Group* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. That it appears there, in one of his acknowledged masterpieces, and a

picture that never has strayed from his own name, is surely in itself overwhelming evidence of authorship.

Artistically or technically, none of these works shows any real advance over the portraits Copley had painted in America. They do, however, show how he began to alter his American manner and the direction in which he was heading. He did not arrive immediately. A clumsiness was inherent in him that from time to time would continue to make itself felt. By 1777 and 1778 he was beginning to paint the sort of suave columned and draped portraits that were his goal stylistically.²³ Yet 1779 would see him produce a work like the portrait of *Clark Gayton* (Fig. 7), where once more the head is hard, American, and a distinct retrogression stylistically. It is of interest, however, for allowing comparisons in detail of Copley's painting of braid with another of his pictures, the portrait of *John Penn* (Fig. 6), which, refreshingly, has been attributed to Romney. Close observation of the heavy whites Copley delighted in throwing off his sable brushes at this period leaves no doubt that the same hand painted both uniforms, even were the proof of Copley's clear, concise, logically-modeled head structure not sufficient to demonstrate that it was to him that John Penn had sat. The obvious mannerism of the mouth formation is the same noted in the portrait of Charlotte Ogle and its American predecessor, Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers. The latter also shares the vixen-eyed look of this picture, and the rather dashing highlight on the nose.

Past the decade of the seventies Copley's London career was a succession of triumphs. His portraits were interspersed with a series of historical pictures that set a new standard for that art. All went well until, as the eighteenth century began to pass into history, the times became less propitious for the arts. The export trade of engravings, from which Copley had drawn a large part of his income, was closed off by incessant wars.²⁴ At home an impoverished Britain had little free money for portraits. Even Lawrence, already the great favorite among London painters, was deeply in debt. The more slow-working Copley could not hope to equal the activity of his younger contemporary. The years after 1800 were, for Copley, a period of gathering clouds. His plans for the bright day ahead seemed never to materialize and he was growing old.

It is frequently said that Copley's principal misfortune was that he outlived his abilities; a cruel misinterpretation. The beginning of the new century in fact found him in fine fettle, about to begin an enterprise that outside his historical pictures was more ambitious than any he had hitherto attempted.



Fig. 8. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, *Preparatory Sketch for Knatchbull Family Group*
Collection of Lord Brabourne



Fig. 9. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY,
*Sir Edward Knatchbull (9th Bart.) and
Norton Joseph Knatchbull* (altered fragment
of family group), Maidstone, Kent,
County Hall, on loan from
collection of Lord Brabourne



Fig. 10. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY,
Mary Knatchbull (altered fragment from
family group), Maidstone, Kent,
County Hall, on loan from collection of
Lord Brabourne



Fig. 11. *Sir Edward Knatchbull (8th Bart.)*
(altered fragment of family group)
Maidstone, Kent, County Hall, on
loan from collection of Lord Brabourne

In August of that year the sixty-two-year-old artist journeyed from London down to Kent to begin planning an enormous family picture for his old patrons, the Knatchbulls. He returned to London highly pleased with the reception he had received and the round of entertainments. By October he had become so much a fixture of the Kentish establishment that the younger children of his host were calling him *papa* by mistake. In the meantime the enormous canvas with nearly a dozen life-sized figures was prepared²⁵ and by the following March of 1801 was "much advanced."²⁶ The endless complications that marked the progress of this work, the addition of a new wife and children as they were born, all have been recounted elsewhere. Nineteen months after the commencement of the picture Mrs. Copley reported to her daughter in Boston, "Your father is going on with the Knatchbull picture, but will not have it ready for the Exhibition, at which we are rather disappointed . . . I am happy to add that your father is remarkably well . . ." In June, and again in September, further progress is reported and the finish is reported in March 1803.

Every evidence that can be deduced from the sketches for this picture, and the fragments of the canvas that still exist, seem to indicate that it was indeed the success Copley's family considered it. Whether it equaled his own group of the *Pepperell Family*, which is probably the finest of all such large-scale family groups, is difficult or impossible to judge. In the nineteenth century the enormous canvas was cut into fragments. No record of to whom the work of reducing the picture was entrusted seems to have survived.²⁷ That in a conscientious effort to make self-contained compositions he unmercifully butchered what may have been Copley's masterpiece is undeniable. The effect of the original picture no longer can be guessed; but the extent of the changes can be gauged by comparison of the fragments with his original sketch for the entire composition (Fig. 8), as well as tracing the edges and markings which are visible under the present surfaces of these now separated canvases.

An example in point is the fragment of the father, Sir Edward Knatchbull (Fig. 11), son and heir of the Sir Edward that Copley painted a quarter of a century before. As Copley conceived the picture Sir Edward was to be entering on the extreme right of the composition, carrying a gun as though returned from shooting. His right hand gestures forward, but the forearm, a portion of the hip and most of the right leg from the knee downwards were lost behind the figure of a small daughter. Another son, who stood immediately before the outstretched hand of his father, probably was lost when the

canvas was cut through him. The small daughter was painted over completely, the missing parts of her father's forearm and leg were made good. But more, the landscape background against which Copley had silhouetted his subject was replaced by a wall, covering all but a small slice of distant sky. Completely new features now made their way into the composition: a column, rather overly-ornate table, trophies of the hunt, and even two rather ineffectual dogs, one with hollow sightless eyes reminiscent of the Hound of the Baskervilles. One is relieved to exonerate Copley from authorship of such unhappily rendered accessories.

The fragment of two brothers (Fig. 9), likewise has suffered a considerable re-working, in which parts of other figures were removed, a column reworked, landscape introduced, a canopy and drapery turned into a table and globe, and a heavy volume replaced by a lighter one that would better rest on the slightly raised surface of the new table. The survival of Copley's preparatory drawing for these two figures (Fig. 12) supports the tale told by the altered surface of the extant fragment, though his oil sketch of the entire composition shows us that he repented of placing the elder boy in his robes.

Most unfortunate of all is the fragment of Mary Knatchbull, rescued from the center of the enormous canvas (Fig. 10). From a baby standing on a canopy playing with her tamboreen she has become a figure making graceful gestures in a landscape, replete with false legs, hopeless dog, flowing ribbon that does not flow, and downcast eyes that cease to explain themselves because of the absence of the mother on whom they were trained. Any person seeing this piece in its present state, ignorant of how little of Copley's mind or hand remain in it, would accuse him of deteriorating into the pretty, the mechanical, and the effete. Actually, all it retains of Copley is the certain glow of the child's complexion, which even in this much abused fragment remains lovely.

Soon after the Knatchbull group the great change came over Copley's work that has led to the charge of failing abilities. Inexplicable things began to happen. Outlines became too hard, one finds an unexpected slurring. His drawing remained strong and sure, and each portion of the canvases, when examined, continues to show his inimitable touch. When one steps back it is a shock to see that so much that separately is excellent does not work together in the ensemble. The parts of the picture jar, and one is conscious of artistic failure. Quite evidently the fault is not in the hand that wielded the brush as skillfully as ever. Copley suffered rather from an alteration of his vision.

Mention of his health was handled delicately in letters that passed back and

forth between his London household and the daughter who, married to a Bostonian, lived in that city. Since 1803 Copley had been asking loans from his son-in-law, Gardiner Green, the only security for which was his continued activity and earning capacity. The first indication we have that all was not well comes in a letter Mrs. Copley wrote July 28, 1804: "Since my last your father has had an ill turn, but has now very nearly recovered his usual health. He was seized with a numbness in his hand, which likewise affected his legs and feet; it lasted but a short time, and was thought to proceed from some nervous relaxation. He has taken bark, which has strengthened him . . ." September 3, Copley's son, the future Lord Lyndhurst, referred to it again. "Our father, too, though he was a few weeks since slightly indisposed, is again well and cheerful, and as industrious and indefatigable as ever. He is at present employed in painting an equestrian picture of the Prince of Wales, which is to rival the Charles of Vandyck and the Ferdinand of Rubens."

The marked difference in Copley's work at this time seems to imply that young Copley had found discrete means to pass over mention of what may have been a slight stroke; whatever Copley's illness, henceforth his vision was seriously affected. He saw well only at close quarters. He had the greatest difficulty in judging from a distance the effect of his work. Most pathetic is that though the parts always are well executed in the manner of his prime, these later works are frequently disastrous.

Copley's family carefully put a good face on his condition.

Your father enjoys his health, and is still able to pursue his art. He says sometimes that he is too old to paint, but this his works do not show; but at his period of life, indulgence, or at least a degree of rest from labor, is indeed desirable,

wrote Mrs. Copley. The artist's own feelings are of interest, for they show his own sensitivity to his condition. Increasing financial difficulties were the real motive behind his continuing labors. An engraving of his picture of the sea battle off Gibraltar, on which he counted to supply some of the income necessary for his family, took more than eight years to bring to the presses. His portrait of the *Prince of Wales*, its effect distorted by his vision, was a complete fiasco, bringing down upon him a public insult from the vain Prince. Copley's last years were as tragic as they were sad. He died September 9, 1815. A final grim appraisal is found in a letter from Mrs. Copley to her Boston son-in-law:

Besides the sums due to you, there is a debt to my brother, Mr. Clarke, and

also another, upon a second mortgage of the house in George Street, to Mr. Baron Richards . . . there is considerable arrears in interest . . . There are various other debts due for money borrowed at different times . . .²⁸

A cruel end to a life industriously passed.

Happily, such simple economic equation rarely expresses the sum of a significant career. The fact remains that working in England Copley's provincial genius developed to astounding proportions. Possessed of a greater sense of construction than his contemporaries, better acquainted with the ways of putting together a head that was a single mass, he simplified his style and intensified it along classic lines. A completely new proportion was added to his work as he became the most sophisticated of the sophisticated, the most profoundly competent in an England teeming with portrait painters of skill. Competition of the sort he found, something that never before had been experienced in America, whetted his genius and brought him forth in enormous strides. In the portrait of *Nuthall* he is still painting a hard, sober head, more solidly constructed than anything then done in England, but lacking the clean styling possessed by so many London contemporaries. The landscape reflects what he was learning of new conventions. In the *Mrs. Thrale* he seems to have learned nothing; it is a picture that he might have painted in Boston. Shortly thereafter he burst forth in a series of works that put him in the forefront of British portraiture. We need only think of *Lord Mansfield*,²⁹ the intensity of expression in *Richard, Earl Howe*,³⁰ the ultimate sophistication of *John Quincy Adams*,³¹ that most perfect of all groups *The Pepperell Family*,³² and the new perfection he gave the historical picture in such works as *The Death of Major Pierson*,³³ to realize that he had become a leader of English art. However much we admire his painstaking colonial pictures, this is surely a greater achievement and a greater glory to his native land. Washington was right.

Far from abhorring the change that came over Copley we should be astonished at his continual development. He had lost nothing of the gift for character delineation. The set of features, the look of his people, the certain air that makes each individual unlike his fellows, never failed Copley even at his most posh. When he piled up compositions of swoosh and pomp he did so with enormous skill and thought of texture. Could any other artist have equaled his lavish portrayal of the three daughters of George III?³⁴ None of the abbreviated shorthand of the over-anxious disinterested executant that repels us in certain of Reynolds emptier compositions awaits us in Copley. There is thought, and care, and above all a beautiful clean craftsmanship in

everything he touched. His drawing is always perfect; he never had to hide hands as Reynolds did, nor leave them boneless blobs, unable to function, as did Gainsborough.³³ It is remarkable that a man who started as a primitive, who painfully worked towards unseen European models, was able on his arrival in Europe to master the idiom so completely—and do so to the detriment of those who like Reynolds were its supreme masters.

Granted the conditions of his training and the disadvantages of his first career in America, the European development of John Singleton Copley may well mark him as the greatest individual genius in the history of painting. Surely no one man had so remarkable a personal development in the course of one lifetime.

And Nathaniel Dance? He married a rich widow and retired from painting to take up politics. Let us leave him to his happy fate. Poor fellow, he did not wish to be remembered as a painter. All this has embarrassed him.

ADDENDA TO PART ONE: GILBERT STUART

Admitting that Nathaniel Dance did not paint Copley's portraits, he did have a certain value. He met Gilbert Stuart while the latter was still a pupil living with Benjamin West and gave him excellent advice. "You are strong enough to stand alone—take rooms—those who would be unwilling to sit to Mr. West's pupil, will be glad to sit to Mr. Stuart."³⁴ It was at the moment when Dance himself had found a wife and with her fortune and social position was abandoning his own practice in favor of a political career as Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland. He offered Stuart his choice of studio materials, matters of some importance to the still young and impecunious American. When Stuart called he found Dance out, and was too shy to help himself to anything but a palette that had belonged to Hudson, and some brushes. On his return, hearing of Stuart's moderation, Dance sent him a mass of materials.

Thus established, Stuart began his remarkably meteoric English career. Though it is probable that he painted neither George III³⁵ nor Louis XVI as he later claimed, the outlines of Stuart's career can be seen by the position and numbers of his sitters. The ease with which his works still can be found masquerading beneath borrowed identities implies that they remain numerous in England.

A new case in point, discovered too late for inclusion in the recent article

on Stuart, is the portrait of *Richard Barwell* in the Wernher Collection, Luton Hoo (Fig. 13). Barwell was the son of the Governor of Bengal during the time Warren Hastings was Governor General of India. He was a loyal supporter of Hastings during the famous trial that fascinated England in 1788.³⁸ Barwell's presence in London therefore is well established in the period before Stuart's flight to Ireland.

The portrait is too clearly a Stuart, too definitely in his manner, and too far removed from the manner of any other painter, to require much amplification of the attribution. The director of the Wernher Collection, Mr. M. Urwick Smith, admitted that as a Reynolds (as it was catalogued) he had found it disturbing. And of course the thinness of the facture, the liquid quality of the glazes which define drawing in Stuart's way rather than being employed merely for color, even the oval form of the portrait similar to so many Stuart produced in England and Ireland, all support the obvious contention.

Stuart's own sharp eye noted a characteristic movement of Benjamin West's brush. Jokingly he accused his master of doing sums in arithmetic when painting hair; everything was in threes, the natural movement of West's brush seeming to write that number as he formed curls. Stuart too had a characteristic movement with the brush. Habitually he painted while seated. He piloted his brush from the wrist, and frequently he had the same nervous impulse one sees in a dog shaking a bone. The brush begins a stroke, then is overcome by an impulse from the wrist, quickly tracing an overlapping sway upon the canvas. It seems to have been pure nerve impulse, what now would be called "temperament," or what in clinical terms might be recognized as a "compulsive" movement. One sees it in the works by Stuart we already have reproduced; the chair of *John Guillemard*, the wig of *The Rt. Hon. George Greville*, and in the portrait of Barwell it is equally apparent in the light accents of his coat. This characteristic brushing, which can be found in all the works of Stuart, unfortunately is somewhat difficult to find in reproductions. For the most part it exists in the flat areas of the canvas, backgrounds, skies and curtains, or any part painted quickly and left untroubled.

Jacques Louis David, revolutionary dictator of French arts, asked John Vanderlyn why the best English painters were all Americans.³⁹ It is a question well worth pondering, for whether objective or rhetorical, it demonstrates an impression.

- ¹ See Charles Merrill Mount, "A Hidden Treasure in Britain," *The Art Quarterly*, XXII (1959), 217-228.
- ² How we do hate our "expatriates"! Do any of them receive the credit they deserve?
- ³ This and other letters by Copley and his family from Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.*, Boston, 1882.
- ⁴ Amory, *op.cit.*
- ⁵ The most probable date of his birth was July 3, 1738, though some discussion exists over the year.
- ⁶ It is of the utmost importance that for purposes of attribution comparison be made to the typical works of an artist, rather than to any small outstanding group like these which, so obviously unlike his other products, have been accumulated by comparison with each other (see also note 14).
- ⁷ M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.
- ⁸ I am indebted to Miss Mary Chamot of The Tate Gallery for bringing to my attention a note found on the back of this canvas when it was received by the Gallery, which identified the subject. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* he died March 7, 1775.
- ⁹ Where are these interesting pictures of George III and Queen Charlotte? They are not known, and assuming they still exist most likely continue to masquerade under the name of some other artist. Of course it would seem that the object of beginning canvases he would not finish until a year later was to receive the first payment customary when a portrait was begun. With a long journey before him this may have seemed a wise precaution to the proverbial parsimonious Copley. It follows therefore that when he did not receive the expected fee for a head of the King or Queen he would, for reasons of finance, have been more amenable to beginning the portrait of *Nuthall*.
- ¹⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- ¹¹ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ¹² The portrait of *Samuel Adams* and others done in America are also disturbing in this respect.
- ¹³ Letter dated June 1, 1959, from Lord Brabourne, present owner of the pictures, which are on loan to the County Hall, Maidstone, Kent.
- ¹⁴ If memory serves, the portrait of *Captain James Cook* at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, is signed, and a better than ordinary example of Dance's work. Even here one is led to regret a certain maladroitness; the amorphous quality of the torso, the legs which are on a different plane from the trunk, the certain clumsiness of hand apparent in the painting of wig and folds of drapery, which fail to define the body within. As an artist Dance, even in his secondary category, does not reach the stature of Beechey, nor even the various assistants of Lawrence, like Evans. In abilities he is most nearly equatable with Lemuel Francis Abbott (1760-1803), whose work has a purely historic importance lent by the identities of the sitters.
- ¹⁵ Letter dated August 5, 1960, from Miss Margaret Edmundson of the Courtauld Institute, which photographed this picture; "As regards the portrait . . . as you say, the plaque attributes this to Dance. However, when we went down to Firlie to photograph it, it was generally agreed that the portrait was nearer to Copley, and in fact the Witt [Library] reproduction is filed under Copley."
- ¹⁶ The attribution to Dance in this case is more recent. When a decade ago this picture was employed as a frontispiece for Clifford's biography of Mrs. Thrale the artist was "unknown." The first mention of Dance occurred when the picture appeared for sale at Christie's, May 16, 1952.
- ¹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- ¹⁸ The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.
- ¹⁹ The Tate Gallery, London.
- ²⁰ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- ²¹ Copley's treatment of drapery, especially silks, is so decidedly personal it seems superfluous to labor the point; a partial list would include *Mrs. Thomas Boylston* (Fogg Art Museum), *Mrs. Scott* (G. S. Windsor Coll., Boston), *Mrs. Robert Hooper*, and *Lady Frances Wentworth* (both in the New York Public Library). It should be noted that the best reference published on Copley's American works, by Wheeler and Parker, has not been available to me while completing this article in Paris.
- ²² *Lady Frances Wentworth*; except for the somewhat questionable drawing of the eyes, a particularly lovely work dating from 1765. About this time Copley reached the height of his attempts to imitate European works he had never seen except for engravings. Following the unfortunate results of attempting to follow advice sent him from London by letter, this phase of his work was abandoned. After 1765 Copley began to turn inward on himself, reverting to a more primitive manner that did not seek grace of composition. Between 1765 and 1774, for the last nine years of his American period Copley experienced a curious retrogression, evidently in the belief that his only secure path was to paint what he saw before him.
- ²³ *Squire Hyde* of Hyde, dated 1777 (present owner unknown) is a good example.
- ²⁴ "The export trade of our engravings to France far exceeds the trade at home. The trade at home is chiefly

in low-priced prints—little ovals and furniture decorations. Of the more costly productions the French exceed by three to one the buyers in England. In Paris alone to Sir Robert Strange's last print the subscriptions there exceeded ours by seventeen to three. The calculations in all undertakings is on the *foreign* sale, being thrice above our own. Spain is also beginning to deal largely in this commodity. A late order from Madrid to Messrs. Boydell exceeded 1,500 pounds sterling . . ." From W. T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England*, 2 vols.

²⁵ It is impossible to state how many figures were included in the group at any particular time, the numbers being successively altered and augmented by events in the household.

²⁶ Amory, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Letter from Lord Brabourne, *op. cit.*

²⁸ February 1, 1816.

²⁹ National Portrait Gallery, London.

³⁰ National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, a collection containing also Copley's ultimate example of superb flesh painting, *Viscount Duncan*. Rarely have the multiple hues of flesh been so carefully studied, or so perfectly rendered. Painted about 1798.

³¹ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³² Brought to America by the dealers Scott & Fowle, who kindly showed it to me.

³³ The Tate Gallery, London.

³⁴ The Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace.

³⁵ How much of this part of Gainsborough's style is derived from engravings after Boucher and Fragonard is a likely investigative field for scholars.

³⁶ Recounted in Lawrence Park, *Gilbert Stuart*, New York, 1926, as coming from William Dunlap, *The Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 1834.

³⁷ The portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte that Park (*op. cit.*) reproduces are surely not by Stuart.

³⁸ M. Urwick Smith, *The History and Treasures of Luton Hoo*, (Pitkin) London.

³⁹ Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting*, New York, 1916.

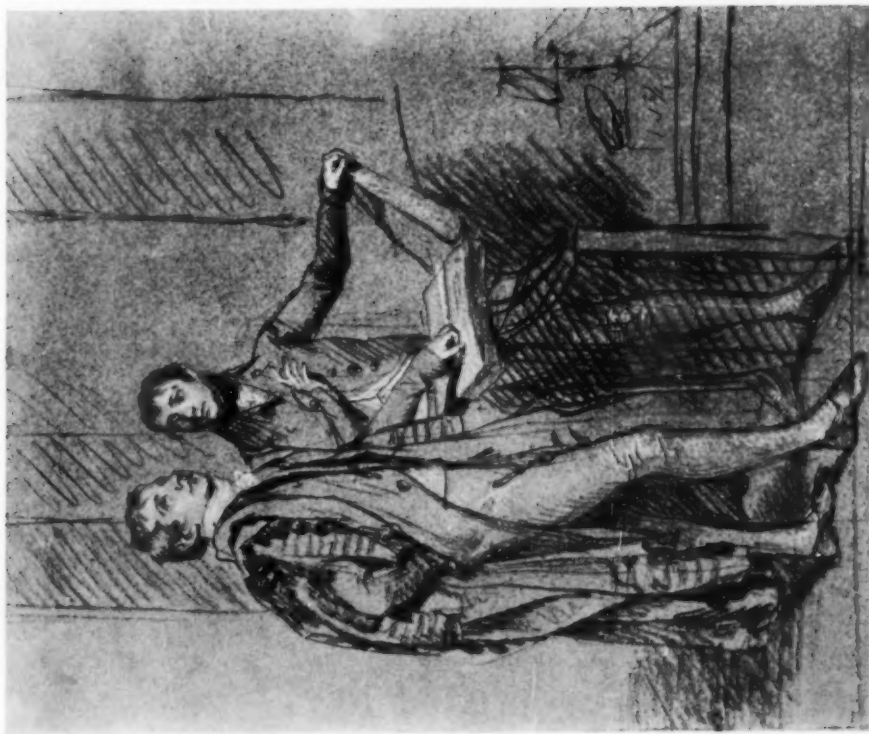


Fig. 12. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY,
Preparatory Drawing for Edward and Norton Knatchbull
London, Courtauld Institute



Fig. 13. GILBERT STUART, *Richard Barwell* (formerly attrib. to
Sir Joshua Reynolds), Luton Hoo, Wernher Collection



Fig. 1. Emblem VI of Francis Quarles'
"Hieroglyphiques of the Life of Man," 1638



Fig. 2. Tombstone of John Foster, Dorchester, Mass.
(from James T. Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, Houghton Mifflin Company)

EMBLEM AND DEVICE: THE ORIGIN OF THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

By FRANK H. SOMMER

MUCH of the study of American art has interpreted its subject as though it existed in a kind of cultural vacuum, without relation to the art of the Continent or Great Britain. Though this approach has its advantages, it has at least one serious disadvantage. The failure to factor out the European elements in the art of the United States makes it impossible to isolate the truly American components of our own artists' work. Paradoxically enough, we can discover the native strain of our art only by studying first those things in it which are not American.

One of the most interesting phenomena in our art history is the sea change suffered by European ideas and forms in their travels to the New World. The architecture of the Burlingtonians underwent a reduction of scale; Adam-derived ornament was stripped down for economic reasons; the Windsor chair evolved regional formal specializations and became eloquent of the varied subcultures of early America. In the representational arts many changes also occurred. One of the most clear-cut was the metamorphosis of European iconography. Continental and English imagery frequently received a completely new meaning as it became part of the culture of the United States. This transformation is readily seen in the history of the American use of the "emblem" and the *impresa*, or "device."

The mannerist artists of sixteenth century Europe invented these two special kinds of pictures and built around them an elaborate art theory.¹ Both types, according to the theorists of the period, consisted of a "soul" and a "body." The body was the picture itself; the soul, the motto which accompanied it. As with the components of the human being, the body and soul of a good emblem or device were inseparable. When the motto was missing, the emblem was described as "dumb." A motto by itself became a "blind" emblem. Some writers considered that both the emblem and the device stemmed from the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. Both art forms were, like their supposed sources, learned and dark in meaning. A good emblem or device had to be enigmatic. It was not to be so completely obscure, according

to one of the principal theorists of the time, that it had to be interpreted by a sibyl; but by fundamental rule it was to be above the heads of the "vulgar crowd," the *ogni plebeo*.²

The emblem differed from the device in many ways; perhaps the most important was that it tended to be the vehicle of the scholar's expression, while the *impresa* was the personal insignia of the gentleman, the noble, or the great figures of church and state—an expression of what Mario Praz has called "la filosofia del cavaliere."³ Paolo Giovio, in his important *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* (Rome, 1555), went on to make further distinctions. He said that in the good *impresa* the following rules must be observed: (1) there must be a just proportion between its body and soul; (2) it must represent things pleasing to the eye; (3) it must contain no human figures; (4) the language of the motto must differ from that of the maker of the *impresa*—which usually meant that it was to be in Latin or Greek.⁴ Of these rules, that which was unique to the device, completely distinguishing it from the emblem, was the avoidance of the human figure.

The history of the emblem itself began with Alciati's *Emblematum liber* of 1531. The device, on the other hand, seems to have developed out of the badges worn by the knights of the late Middle Ages; but, as did the emblem, it began to appear in book form in the era of mannerism. Both forms of literature spread through Europe rapidly and had made their impression on the English by at least the early years of Elizabeth's reign.⁵ The chief development of the books was Continental, much of it the product of the Jesuits. One of the greatest monuments of the vogue was the huge *Imago primi saeculi*, published in 1640 to celebrate the hundredth birthday of the Society of Jesus. The seventeenth century was the peak of production of emblem literature. Widely read, the books were used as design sources by the ordinary artisan and by such artists as Rubens, Nicolas Poussin, Bernini and Charles Le Brun.⁶

Almost from the beginning of the history of the genre the high-style development, with its purism and fidelity to rule, was accompanied by a low-style vulgarization which used the modern languages rather than the learned ones. After the seventeenth century peak the purist emblem fell into a decline. The use of Latin and Greek died away; obscurity gave way to the perfectly obvious until, by the end of the eighteenth century, the genre became, for the most part, an amusement for children. There was at least one major exception to this rule. In the devices of the seal of the United States, Latin, obscurity and perfect fidelity to the rules were carefully preserved, and a sixteenth century



Fig. 3. Illustration to Jacob Cats' "Alle de Werken," 1659



Fig. 4. CORNELIS LUYCASSE VANDERBURCH, *Silver Beaker*
New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery,
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection

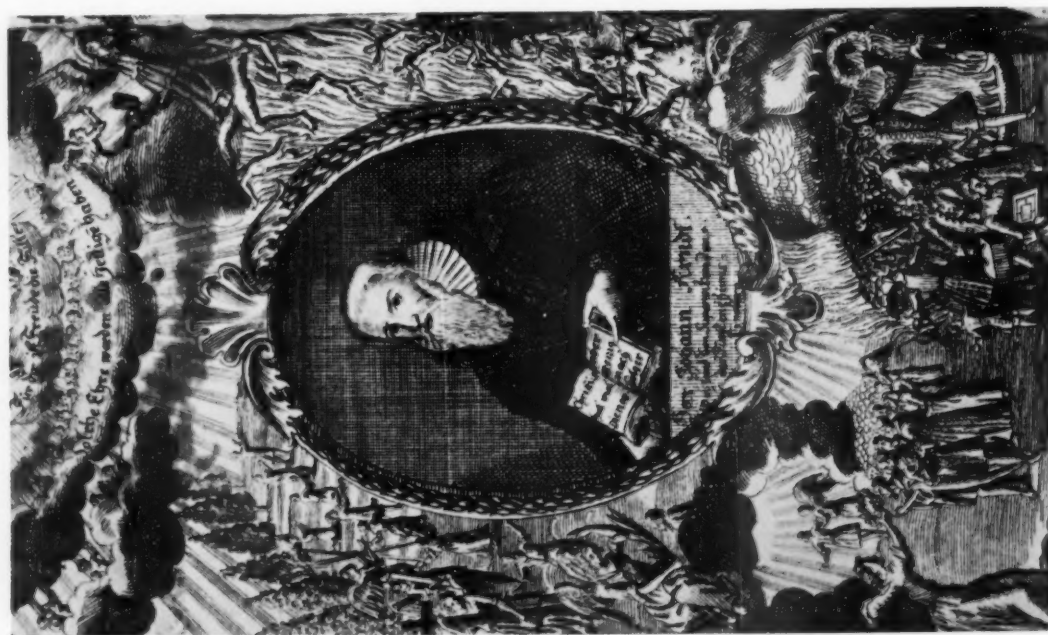


Fig. 5. Frontispiece to Franklin Edition of Johann Arndt's
 "Sechs geistreiche Bücher von Wahren Christenthum," 1751
 Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis du Pont
 Winterthur Musum Library



Fig. 6. Portrait of Johann Arndt (anonymous Pennsylvania-German
 artist) Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis du Pont
 Winterthur Museum

source was given a completely new American meaning. To understand how this came about let us look first at the entire story of the emblem and its near relation, the device, in the history of the colony and of the rising nation. Once we have done this we shall be in a position fully to understand the seal itself.

Although both the device and the emblem were in their origin Italian, upper class and Catholic, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they spread to Protestant Holland, Germany and England, and ultimately to those countries' settlements in what is now the United States.

Among the most interesting of the English emblem books were the Puritan Francis Quarles' *Emblemes* (London, 1635) and *Hieroglyphiques of the Life of Man* (London, 1638). For the first, Quarles took as his sources two Continental Jesuit books, *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), by Herman Hugo, S.J., and *Typus mundi* (Antwerp, 1627), composed by the rhetoric students of the Jesuit College at Antwerp.⁷ He selected plates from both, sometimes modifying the iconography for his Puritan audience, and supplied new verses of a kind rather less Catholic than those of his prototypes. The *Hieroglyphiques* was apparently his own invention. Like his other delightful work *A Feast for Worms*, its theme was human mortality. Although Alciati's book has appeared in at least one early New England library catalogue, the *Hieroglyphiques* is the first emblem book known to have been used in New England as a design source (Fig. 1).⁸ Mrs. Harriette Forbes, in her *Gravestones of Early New England*, attributes to the "Stone Cutter of Boston" the memorials of Joseph Tapping, King's Chapel, Boston, 1678, and John Foster, Dorchester, 1681 (Fig. 2).⁹ We here point for the first time to the source for both stones. The "Stone Cutter" used the sixth emblem of the *Hieroglyphiques* as the prototype for his images of Death and Time. He produced his globelike candlestick by combining motifs from the fourth and tenth emblems. He redrew the sun and eliminated the sundial of the sixth emblem. He dropped the original motto of *Tempus erit*. New ones were supplied in Latin, according to Mrs. Forbes' reasonable theory, by the "Stone Cutter" himself. The use of Quarles as an iconographic source for the Massachusetts gravestone persisted into the 1740's. Mrs. Forbes reproduces two other monuments from King's Chapel which use the same Quarles emblem: those of Rebecca Gerrish, who died in 1743, and Rebecca Sanders, who died in 1745-46.¹⁰

In New York City the works of one of the favorite Dutch authors of emblems and devices was also used as a source of American seventeenth century decoration. Jacob Cats was one of the most prolific of seventeenth

century Dutch writers in the genre (Fig. 3). He was extremely popular in his own time and is still read in Holland. His books were known to the Dutch of New York and in 1685 served as the prototype of the pictures engraved on the outer surface of a silver beaker marked by Cornelis Luycasse Vander-Burch, now in the Garvan Collection at Yale (Fig. 4).¹¹ In its five "dumb" devices, a contrast to the Massachusetts use of the full-scale emblem, the owner, Robbert (*sic*) Sandersen, was exhorted to conquer his flesh; to work in order to eat; to remember that, no matter how powerful he might be, there was always someone more so; to beware of climbing too high; and to avoid cherishing greed or ambition. Though not a *memento mori* like the New England emblems just described, the New York devices resembled their northern relations in teaching a moral through pictures. In neither Boston nor Manhattan was the basic meaning of the source changed. Even the forms remained very much the same as those of their prototypes. In the seventeenth century, American use of the emblem and the device was passive, nonadaptive in both image and symbolism; but, as we shall see, in the eighteenth century a distinctly American use began to appear in answer to the need set by the rise of nationalism.

Pennsylvania, probably because its settlement began so much later than that of New York and New England, showed no known use of either of our art forms until well into the eighteenth century. It was the Germans of Pennsylvania, rather than the English, who used the emblem and the device in their arts. But interestingly enough it was Benjamin Franklin, a Bostonian and professional brother of the printer John Foster, who published the first German-American book of devices, a work which also was the first book of its kind to be printed in this country. This volume was Johann Arndt's *Sechs geistreiche Bücher von Wahren Christenthum*, published by Franklin in Philadelphia in 1751 (Fig. 5). Arndt was an early seventeenth century German theologian and devotional writer whose work was widely popular among German Protestants in Europe. This popularity continued among the Germans of the New World. The *Sechs Bücher* is often found listed in eighteenth century Pennsylvania inventories. German printings were available, but Franklin and other local printers continued to produce American impressions until the mid-nineteenth century. Some indication of the book's popularity is an anonymous Pennsylvania-German painter's free variation on the author's portrait from the frontispiece of the book (Fig. 6). This painted wooden panel is now in the collections of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Just as Franklin was the printer of the first book of devices to be published in America, so he was intimately connected with the history of two of America's most famous *impreses*. The first of these was the well-known snake motif "Join, or Die." In his *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 9, 1754, three years after he had reprinted Arndt's book, Franklin published this, his first device. Of it Carl Van Doren writes:

He published—and had probably drawn—what appears to be the first American cartoon. It was a rough picture of a joint snake in eight pieces, marked with the initials of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and with the caption: "Join [,] or Die".¹²

The device-cartoon was a call to union in the face of danger from the French and their Indian allies. Later, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of July 27, 1774, William and Thomas Bradford, faced by the new national crisis, began to use the picture in a reworked form, changing the motto to "Unite or Die" (Fig. 7). Although there is no way to tell precisely which emblem book Franklin used as a source for his picture, a prototype for it appears in one of the most popular late seventeenth century French compendia, N. Verrien's *Recueil d'emblèmes [,] devices, medailles, et figures hieroglyphiques* (Paris, 1696). On Plate LXI of that work figure 7 represents a snake cut in half (Fig. 8). The motto is "Se rejoindre ou mourir." In Franklin's device we see one of the founding fathers of the rising nation taking a European image and giving it a distinctly American meaning. In both the French prototype and its American derivatives some of the rules for the body of the device were followed, but both were popular versions of the learned *impresa*, since their mottoes, or souls, were in a modern rather than a learned language. The only innovation in the motto made by Franklin was the change of language from French to English. The body he changed by dividing it into eight pieces instead of the original two. What in the original had been a vague recommendation of unity became in both Franklin's and the Bradfords' versions a call to American political strength for defense. In these devices a European art form was adapted so that it became both product and symbol of the rising American national culture.

Perhaps because of his success with the "Join, or Die" design, when Congress resolved July 4, 1776, to set up a committee "... to prepare a device for a Seal of the United States of America," Franklin was appointed to the committee to work on his second famous *impresa*.¹³ The committee's other members

were John Adams and Jefferson. Savage's engraving of the Signing, the most accurate representation we have, shows the men who, having begun to sign at two in the afternoon, later that day were to start work on the great seal (Fig. 10). The picture's actors include all the members of the committee who initiated work on the seal and, seated to the left of Hancock, the Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson, who six years later was instrumental in the production of the final designs for its devices. Curiously enough, although the first committee was specifically charged with the production of a device, none of its members seemed to have understood the difference between that art form and the emblem. As late as 1798 the article on "Devise" in Thomas Dobson's *Philadelphia Encyclopaedia* stated:

The Italians have reduced the making of devices into an art, some of the principal laws of which are these. 1. That there be nothing extravagant or monstrous in the figures. 2. That figures be never joined which have no relation or affinity with one another; excepting some whimsical unions established in ancient tables, which custom has authorised. 3. That the human body be never used. 4. The fewer figures the better. 5. The motto should be every way suitable.¹⁴

Though there are differences between these and the rules of Paolo Giovio, both the *Philadelphia Encyclopaedia* and the Italian authority agreed that the device should contain no human figures. Yet, although it is obvious that the rule was current in the eighteenth century, all three members of the committee proposed pictures which were allegorical emblems, not devices. Franklin and Adams both proposed an image which portrayed the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea. Adams suggested a picture based on a then famous engraving showing the choice or "Judgment" of Hercules between personifications of Virtue and Vice.¹⁵

That Jefferson didn't understand the difference between the emblem and the device is certain. In his Account Book for 1774 he wrote: "A proper device (instead of arms) for the American states united would be the Father presenting the bundle of rods to his sons. The motto 'Insuperabiles si inseparabiles' an answer given in parl[iament] to the H[ouse] of Lds, & comm[on]s." ¹⁶ This suggestion, based on Aesop's fables, was an admirable emblem, but it was not a device.

Ignorance of the true nature of the device may be one part of the explanation for the committee's failure to live up to its charge, but there is a much

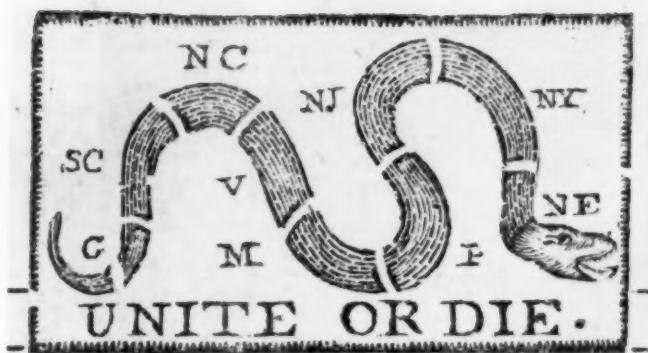


Fig. 7. Franklin's Snake Device Reworked for William and Thomas Bradford in the *Pennsylvania Journal* Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library

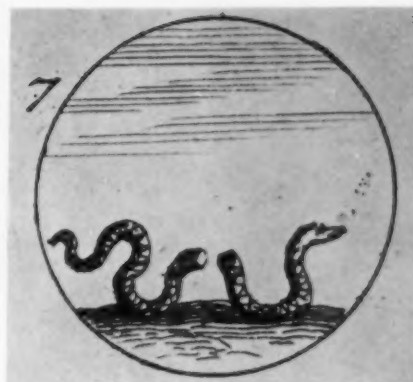


Fig. 8. Snake Device from N. Verrien's "Recueil," 1696 Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library



Fig. 9. PAULO DE MATTHAEIS, Illustration for Shaftesbury's "A Notion" Engraving by S. Gribelin



Fig. 10. ROBERT EDGE PINE and EDWARD SAVAGE,
Signing of the Declaration of Independence, Pennsylvania Historical Society
Engraving by Edward Savage
Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society

more profound reason. The reader will remember that sixteenth century authority insisted that the good device be above the heads of the common man. In the early eighteenth century in England, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury and the first British esthetician, had published a brilliant and extremely influential book in which he attacked the conscious cultivation of the aristocratically esoteric in the emblem. It was called *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of The Judgment of Hercules*. In it he wrote: "... a historical and moral Piece must of necessity lose much of its natural Simplicity and Grace, if any thing of the emblematical or enigmatical kind be visibly and directly intermix'd."¹¹

That John Adams was fully familiar with this critical theory and highly sympathetic to it is proved by his proposal of the frontispiece of Shaftesbury's book as the device of the great seal. The "Judgment" he chose for the seal was the one commissioned by the Earl from Paulo de Mattheis and engraved by Gribelin (Fig. 9). The Earl had defined good taste for some of the greatest aesthetes of the eighteenth century. Wincklemann, Lessing, Herder, and Diderot all acknowledged his importance. Among Americans, Feke is known to have copied the frontispiece; Benjamin West had combined it with borrowings from a now lost "Judgment" by Poussin and the famous version of Annibale Carracci as the raw material of his own image of Hercules. Though there is no proof that Franklin and Jefferson had read *A Notion*, their proposed emblems were completely consistent with Adams' in rejecting the obscure. Both even went so far, in the original form of their proposals, as to suggest an English motto rather than a Latin one. That the rejection of the enigmatic was the probable motive behind Jefferson's "device" is further indicated by a letter written by him to John Page on July 30. On July 20, 1776, Page had written Jefferson asking his aid in finding an engraver to cut the die for a new Virginia seal. He proposed two designs based on Spence's great work on classical imagery, the *Polymetis* (London, 1747). The proposed motto was "Deus nobis haec otio fecit." Jefferson replied:

But for god's sake what is the "Deus nobis haec otia fecit." It puzzles every body here; if my country really enjoys that *otium*, it is singular, as every other colony seems to be hard struggling. I think it was agreed on before Dunmore's flight from Gwyn's island so that it can hardly be referred to the temporary *holiday* that has given you. This device is too aenigmatical, since if it puzzles now, it will be absolutely insoluble fifty years hence.¹²

The committee's quest for eighteenth century clarity was doomed to

failure. They called on Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, the Swiss artist then living in Philadelphia, to prepare drawings to illustrate their report. Either he or (most probably in the opinion of the principal scholar of the matter, Munroe E. Deutsch) Franklin proposed a Latin motto to accompany the English one, the famous "E pluribus unum."¹⁹ With it the "aenigmatical" made an abrupt re-entry. Deutsch has shown the variety of meanings and sources embodied in that brief phrase. But whatever interpretation one may accept, it must be admitted that the soul of the emblem proposed by the committee was in perfect accord with sixteenth century rule on the cultivation of the esoteric.

The rest of the history of the slow development of the American seal is the story of the slow and tortuous growth of a completely orthodox *impresa* and the victory of the enigmatic over "natural Simplicity and Grace."

Moved by knowledge of the true nature of a device, by dislike of "modern art," by a desire for the esoteric, or by sheer contrariness, Congress tabled the committee's report when it was handed in on August 20. But, although the report as a whole was not accepted, the motto and the use in its body of an image of the "Eye of Providence in a radiant Triangle" proposed by the first committee were to survive and be utilized in the *impresa's* final form. The work of Jefferson, Franklin, Adams and Du Simitière had not been completely in vain.

On March 25, 1780, the report was taken up again by a new committee, headed by James Lovell of Massachusetts.²⁰ Its design again failed to live up to the rules for the device. But like its predecessor, the Lovell committee too made a contribution to the final *impresa*. It introduced the symbols of war and peace in the form of the olive branch and a sword (as we shall see, the olive branch persisted, but the sword gave way to arrows), the crest composed of a "radiant constellation of 13 stars," and a shield with thirteen stripes "alternate rouge and argent."²¹

In May, 1782, Arthur Middleton, Elias Boudinot and Edward Rutledge were appointed a committee to produce still another design.²² They did little other than invoke the help of William Barton, the nephew of the great Pennsylvania-German scientist David Rittenhouse. Barton, an expert in heraldry and, as we shall see, fully acquainted with the natures of both the emblem and the device, proceeded to build on the designs of the preceding committee. In his first proposal he kept the idea of a red-and-white-striped shield and the thirteen stars. He put symbols of peace and war in the hands of the supporters of the shield, though he changed the olive branch to a dove denoting "the



Fig. 11. *Charles Thomson's Design for the Obverse of the Great Seal.*
Papers of the Continental Congress
Washington, D.C., The National Archives



Fig. 12. *WILLIAM BARTON, Second Design for the Great Seal.*
Papers of the Continental Congress, Washington, D.C., The National Archives

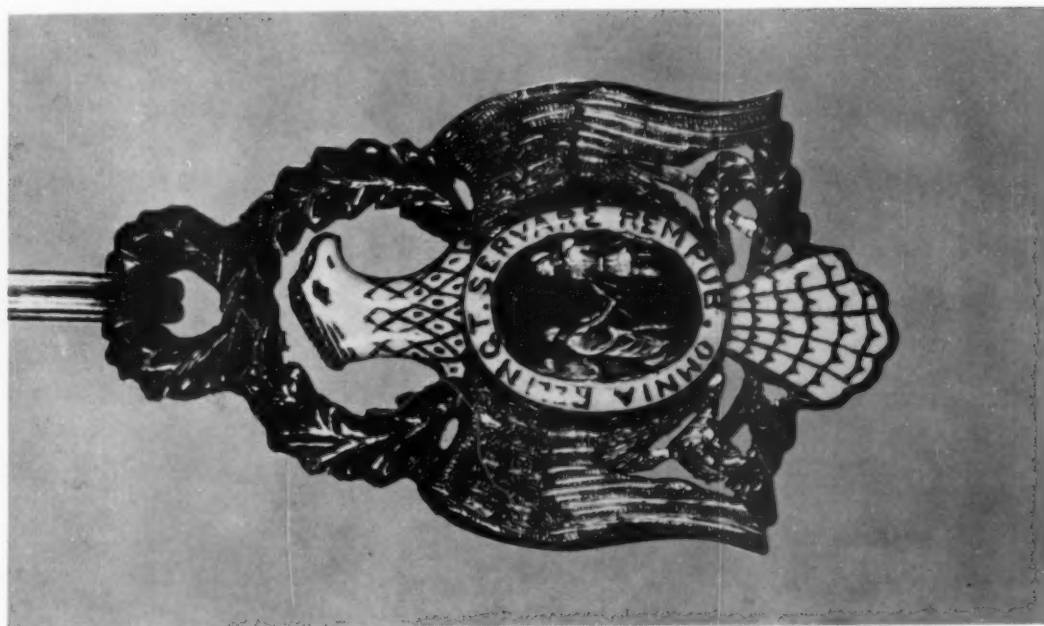


Fig. 13. Medal of the Society of the Cincinnati (probably 19th century example) Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

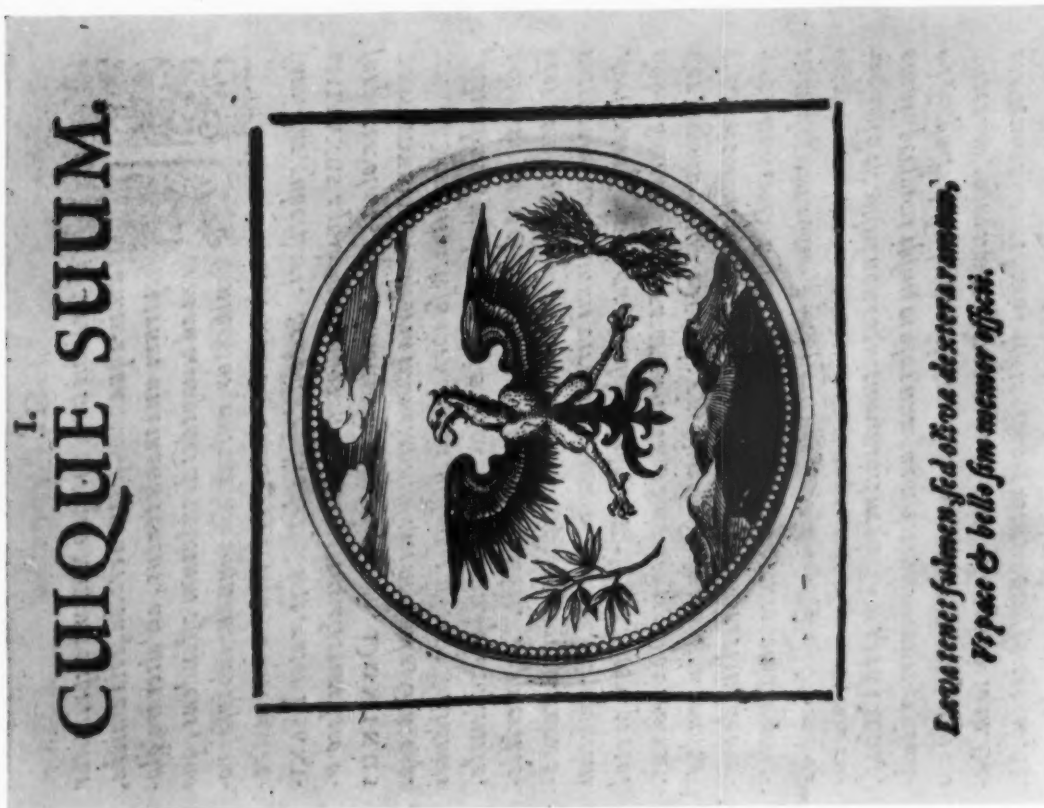


Fig. 14. Emblem I in I. Cancrius' "Symbolorum," 1654
University of Delaware Memorial Library

Mildness & Lenity of her Government."²³ He preserved the use of the "Eye of Providence." Otherwise, his design was a new one; but like its predecessors it was a coat-of-arms. However, in it he showed that he was acquainted with the hieroglyphic nature of the device (he described a pillar shown in his design as "the Hieroglyphic of Fortitude & Constancy"), and he introduced the "spread" or, more technically, "displayed" eagle as the symbol of supreme power and authority signifying Congress.²⁴

In Barton's second design the Eye of Providence was transferred to the reverse of the seal (Fig. 12). The eagle was used as a crest. It was shown "displayed" and holding a sword and an American flag in its talons. Although in his report Barton spoke of the iconography of the eagle, saying that "the Imperial Eagle of Germany (which is sable, and with two Heads) is represented with a Sword in one Talon, and a Sceptre in the other," he modified his source so that it had only one head and replaced the scepter with a flag.²⁵ His own report makes clear that his bird was both German and imperial in its origin. In this second design Barton also produced the first true device for the seal. The Eye of Providence, which he had transferred to the reverse side of the seal, was placed above an incomplete pyramid of thirteen steps and surrounded with the learned, if far from obscure, motto, "Deo favente perennis."

Barton's committee adopted his second design and reported it to Congress May 9, 1782. Congress was again dissatisfied. On June 13 the report was transferred to the Secretary of Congress, Charles Thomson. Barton had been the first to produce a true device for the seal; he fixed the body (though not the soul) for the seal's reverse; and he introduced the German imperial eagle as part of the design of the obverse. Thomson seems to have made the next step in the *impresa's* evolution (Fig. 11). With or without help from Barton, Thomson produced a design for the obverse in which an eagle "rising" displayed on its chest a shield of thirteen stripes, held in its talons an olive branch and a bundle of arrows and in its beak a scroll reading "E pluribus unum." It hovered beneath a cloud surrounding a constellation of thirteen stars "surrounded with bright rays."²⁶ The body of the reverse side of the seal Thomson kept intact, but he changed its soul to two mottoes based on Virgil. "Annuit coeptus" was based on Aeneid ix, 625, and Georgics i, 40. "Novus ordo seclorum" had its source in Eclogue iv, 5.²⁷ In this way Thomson stressed the classical heritage and the "polite" humanistic learning of the new republic. Intentionally or unintentionally his choice stressed too the fact that it was a republic rather than a democracy. The two mottoes were far from

"aenigmatical" to the educated gentleman of the day, but to the *demos* of the "lower orders" they were as dark in their full meaning as even Paolo Giovio could have wished.

In the soul of the obverse Thomson stressed the humanistic by reviving the (probably) Horatian "E pluribus unum" of the first committee so that it, as did the reverse, spoke Latin, to the mob's bewilderment. But it was especially in the body of the obverse that Thomson achieved a device that fitted all of Giovio's rules. We have already seen that his design owed a great debt to all its predecessors in every one of its parts. Although he built on Barton's foundation of the "German" and "Imperial," it was in the eagle that Thomson made his own important contribution, producing an *impresa* which it would have delighted any Renaissance gentleman to own, using as a source one of which a very great gentleman had been extremely proud. In his source he found a catalyst which allowed him to accept many of the most striking of the earlier images and gave him a frame on which to hang them.

In 1654 Joachim Camerarius published in Frankfort a book of devices entitled *Symbolorum & emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum*. In its third part, the volume on birds, Camerarius devoted sixteen of his *imprese* to the eagle. In the first of these Thomson found the solution to the problem of the Congressional charge (Fig. 14). The plate bears as a motto "Cuique suum." This Thomson did not use. The body itself represents a single-headed balding (if not "bald") eagle with "displayed" wings. Next to his right talon is an olive branch, to his left a bundle of thunderbolts. That the symbolism of the two attributes is that of war and peace is proved by the accompanying verses:

Laeva tenet fulmen, sed oliva dextera ramum
Ut pace & bello sim memor officii.²⁸

That the meaning of the eagle is imperial is stated in the text on the opposite page. The eagle ("οἰωνῶν βασιλεύς, *regina avium*") had been the sign of imperial power among the ancients and had been used in his personal device by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V:

Constat . . . tam ex profanis quam sacris litteris, Aquilam semper insigne fuisse alicuius imperii . . . Atque nunc etiam Imperatores Romani felici auspicio eam gestant. Extant quoq[ue] antiqui aliquot nummi, in quibus aquila fulmini insidens addito oleae ramo conspicitur, tam pacem, quam bellum repraesentans. Quod symbolum ab invictiss[imo] & nunquam satis

laudato Imperatore CAROLO V multo rectius fuit usurpatum cum inscriptione, CUIQUE SVVM simulita & potentia[m], & clementiam suam declarante.²⁹

Thomson simplified the design of the original eagle's tail, moved the attributes into the talons, changed the sign of war from thunderbolts to arrows circled by a laurel wreath, redrew the wings, placed *E pluribus unum* on a scroll held in the bird's beak and added a shield of red and white stripes and a constellation of thirteen stars "surrounded with bright rays." Though the eagle he drew, to the writer at least, seems identical with the wind-blown and egg-headed bird of Camerarius, Thomson described it as "an American [bald] Eagle on the Wing & rising proper."³⁰

Barton made a few minor changes in the Secretary's design. He redesigned the shield and insisted on thirteen arrows, dropping the wreath. Most important of all, however, he defined the new imperial meaning of the Emperor's device:

The Escutcheon being placed on the Breast of the Eagle displayed is a very ancient Mode of bearing, & is truly imperial. The eagle displayed is an Heraldical Figure; and, being borne in the Manner here described, supplies the place of Supporters & Crest. The American States need no Supporters but their own Virtue, and the preservation of their Union through Congress.³¹

Thus, in the final design, the German eagle was used as it had been before by the Holy Roman Emperor, through the means of a German book, by the Pennsylvania-German William Barton. Both Thomson and Barton contributed to the final invention, but it is clear that Thomson's part was small compared with the German-American's. Both the concept of the true device and the German stress of the finished product were Barton's. We cannot be sure that it was he who found the catalyst and suggested its use to Thomson. We can be absolutely certain that it was he who insisted on fidelity to the source's "displayed" wings and to its imperial meaning.

The final description of the seal was decided on and the official report written. On June 20, 1782, after six years' work, Congress approved the devices for the great seal. The die was cut and the seal was finished (Fig. 15). What had been the learned toy of one of the most autocratic of aristocrats, Charles V, became the official symbol of one of the greatest of anti-monarchical nations. At the same time, unlike Franklin's "Join, or Die" or the allegorical emblems of the first committee, the *imprese* were obscure, "aenig-

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matical," and far beyond the comprehension of all but the middle- and upper-class gentlemen who had invented them and voted on them in approval.

Once the devices had been invented and officially approved, the ideas embodied in them passed from the sphere of the state and began to affect the art of the citizen. The Society of the Cincinnati was established in 1783. Though they had fought for freedom from an aristocratic nation, the former officers saw no harm in a civilian order as opposed to one established by the state. As did the knights of Europe, the Society's members wanted insignia. They commissioned Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant to design a medal. It took the form of the bald eagle "displayed" of the seal's device modified by the insertion of two olive branches in the talons (presumably as a sign of the wholly peaceful nature of the Society) (Fig. 13). On the reverse and obverse of the medal the bird's chest was covered with two allegorical emblems;

The Principal Figure to be Cincinnatus, three Senators presenting him with a Sword and other military Ensigns; on a field in the background, his wife standing at the door of their cottage, near it a plough and instruments of husbandry; round the whole, OMNIA RELIQUIT SERVARE REM-PUBLICAM. On the reverse: Sun rising—a city with open gates and vessels entering the port. Fame crowning Cincinnatus with wreath inscribed *Virtutis Praemium*—below, Hands joined supporting a heart, with the motto ESTO PERPETUA—round the whole, SOCIETAS CINCINNATORUM, INSTITUTA A.D. 1783.³²

When the insignia were being manufactured in France, Franklin, proponent of the "natural" and the "simple," and rather more consistently democratic than the members of the new Society, wrote an attack on the aristocratic implications of the new group, making fun both of their eagle and their Latin, suggesting that a turkey would have been the more appropriate bird for the old fighters of the British to use as their "emblem":

He is (though a little vain and silly it is true, but not the worse emblem for that), a bird of Courage, and would not hesitate to attack a Grenadier of the British Guards, who should presume to invade his Farm Yard with a red coat on.³³

With the exception of this one note of dissent, the rule of the *regina* of birds in American art met no objection. It immediately began to be vulgarized. In the hands of the people it rapidly lost its original official meaning. It was



Fig. 15. Impression from the First Die of the Seal of the United States
Washington, D.C., The National Archives

merged with the eagles of the Sheraton style, the symbolism of the eagles of ancient Rome, and even with the eagles of Pennsylvania-German *sgraffito* ware and *Fraktur* birth certificates. But whatever its permutations and combinations, the spread eagle of the seal is, thanks to its learned inventors and to Congress, a proper *impresa*, the product of the great tradition of European humanism, of mannerist art and of the aspirations and spirit of the new republic. It is, perhaps, the best possible symbol of the old/new nature of American art, of that sea change experienced by the European as it became part of our new culture and our new society.

¹ The standard work on the history of emblem literature is by Mario Praz. The latest printing of its first volume is *Studi sul concettismo*, Florence, 1946. The second volume has had only one printing. *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery, Volume Two, A Bibliography of Emblem Books*, London, 1947.

² Praz, *Studi sul concettismo*, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ The standard work on emblem literature in Great Britain is Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, London, 1948.

⁶ Frank H. Sommer, "Bernini and the Iconography of Ecstasy," unpublished MS.

⁷ Freeman, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁸ The book was owned by John Harvard and given by him to the College library. See Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, Cambridge, 1935.

⁹ Harriette Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England*, Boston, 1927, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. facing pp. 57 and 124.

¹¹ Mrs. Russel Hastings, "The Sanders-Garvan Beaker by Cornelis VanderBurch," *Antiques*, XXVII (February, 1935), 52-55.

¹² Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938, p. 220.

¹³ The standard work on the history of the great seal is Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Seal of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1909.

¹⁴ Thomas Dobson, *Encyclopaedia; or a Dictionary of Art, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature . . .*, Philadelphia, 1798, V, 780.

¹⁵ Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13. On this passage Julian Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Princeton, 1950, I, 495, comments: "In TJ's Account Book for 1774, but undoubtedly inserted later . . ."

¹⁷ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, London, 1723, III, 381-382.

¹⁸ Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

¹⁹ Munroe E. Deutsch, "E pluribus unum," *Classical Journal*, XVIII (1922-1923), 387-407.

²⁰ Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁷ Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

²⁸ Ioachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum & emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia collecta . . .*, Frankfurt, 1654, p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁰ Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³² William S. Thomas, *The Society of the Cincinnati 1783-1935*, New York, 1935, p. 47.

³³ Albert H. Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1906, IX, 167.

ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN ART

REPORT OF ACQUISITIONS OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1960

MANUSCRIPT LETTERS AND ORIGINAL MATERIAL

A group of letters and newspaper clippings relating to JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL WHISTLER (1834-1903), and in particular concerning the controversy aroused among Whistler's friends and admirers on the publication in 1908 of E. R. and J. Pennell's *Life of James McNeill Whistler*, has been presented to the Archives by Mr. Orme Lewis. Included in this gift are letters from Howard Mansfield to FitzRoy Carrington; to P. J. Safford from Carrington, Richard A. Canfield and Royal Cortissoz, all concerned with their reactions to the Pennell book. In a letter to Richard A. Canfield, Charles L. Freer remarks: "Instead of writing in a dignified manner of matters of importance in connection with Whistler's life and art, he has contented himself by repeating a lot of trivial items long since worn threadbare...his spiteful attitude toward the splendid ladies who did so much to make comfortable the master's late years is not only ungallant, but caddish to an unusual degree." And in a postscript adds: "Many of the masterpieces are reproduced in such an atrocious manner that Whistler's gentle ghost will doubtless haunt the vandals forever." The letters are of considerable interest in presenting views which differ widely from those published by the Pennells.

A letter by HENRY INMAN (1801-1846) to one of his students and one from WASHINGTON ALLSTON (1779-1843) to THOMAS SULLY (1783-1872) are among the recent gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence A. Fleischman. The Inman letter, dated July 25, 1841, expresses regret at having to cancel a lesson and admonishes the student, "In the meantime you can improve yourself at home by sketching 'all creation' in your common book." The Allston letter to Sully asking for the address of a Miss Leslie (probably Eliza or Anne Leslie, sisters of Charles R. Leslie, Allston's pupil) is dated July 13, 1837 and was written from Cambridge Port.

A Chronology of the Life and Career of WALT KUHN (1877-1949) has been prepared by his daughter Miss Brenda Kuhn and presented to the Archives. In its completeness of detail and excellent format this is a model for such records.

The papers of Dr. John Weichsel (1870-1946), including his files on the PEOPLE'S ART GUILD, have been given to us by his son Dr. H. S. Weichsel and are an important addition to our holdings relating to art activities in New York City in the first quarter of this century. Dr. John Weichsel was a manual training teacher in the New York Public School System and a man of wide interests. In 1915 Dr. Weichsel and a group of friends organized the People's Art Guild, which over the next few years planned a series of exhibitions which were held in restaurants, theatres, settlement houses and union halls. In the Prospectus for the PAG Weichsel wrote: "Artists and the people are going by di-

verging roads, both losing greatly by this separation. Artists, on the one hand, deliberately place themselves in total dependence upon a small class of art patrons, and seek neither inspiration nor subsistence among the masses. As a result, economic and spiritual poverty is now generally prevalent in artists' ranks, a condition which is becoming more and more acute because of the increasing output of the numerous art schools and academies. The people, on the other hand, feel no vital reality in our art. They think it a handmaid of luxury, the vocation of remote individuals, the prerogative of the 'upper classes' only."

Dr. Weichsel devoted his time and energy to correcting this situation. His papers are a fascinating record of his activities for the years 1905-1922 and include 122 letters from such artists as Gifford Beal, George Bellows, Ben Bunn, Thomas Hart Benton, Louis Bouché, Glenn O. Coleman, Stuart Davis, Robert Delaunay, Robert Henri, Leon Kroll, Jerome Myers, Eli Nadelman, Jules Pascin, Maurice Prendergast, Man Ray, John Sloan, Maurice Sterne, Alfred Stieglitz, Abraham Walkowitz, Max Weber, S. MacDonald Wright, Marguerite and William Zorach. These letters contain a wealth of material for the student and historian. Because of his deep interest in their welfare, artists turned to Dr. Weichsel for all kinds of advice and assistance.

Man Ray, writing to Weichsel in November 1915, declines an invitation to exhibit in a PAG exhibition saying, "As an atom in your scheme, I shall not be missed. In my scheme of things the world is an atom—and I enjoy a comfortable nullity therein." Jules Pascin asks him for advice on problems with his passport; Robert Delaunay, writing from Spain in May 1916 on paper beautifully decorated with his watercolor designs, asks Weichsel for suggestions, and adds, "It is for me very difficult, I may say impossible, to express myself with words, so I regret that you cannot see our works, it would be the best thing." S. MacDonald Wright writes for assistance: "Posters, fashions, covers and short stories have all been tried in vain. In fact I am at the end of my tether." In 1916 William Zorach writes from Plainfield, New Hampshire, where he was living on a farm, apologizing for not doing more for PAG during that year: "I am alone out here in the backwoods with Tessin. Everything is still and there isn't even the sound of a cricket, the birds are all gone and the insects are all frozen I guess." There seemed to be no limit to the extent to which Dr. Weichsel's advice was sought. A letter from Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Department of Education and Organization, Ladies Waist and Dress-makers' Union enquires: "What color would be best for a very large three story hotel on the top of a mountain?"

OTHER GIFTS OF MATERIAL RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING DONORS:

Mrs. Margaret M. Babcock, Marvin Beerbohm, Mrs. Frances J. Brewer, Mrs. Louise Bruner, Dr. and Mrs. Irving F. Burton, Dane Chanase, Mrs. Ruth Banks Clarke, The Terry De Lapp Gallery, Frederick W. Flournoy, The Forsyth Library of the Fort Hays Kansas State College, Miss Gladys R. Haskin, The Heckscher Museum through Miss Frieda Tenebaum, Mrs. Miriam L. Lesley, Howard W. Lipman, Anna Wells Rutledge, Mrs. Margery Austin Ryerson and Mrs. H. B. Sharkey.

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL GIVEN TO COLLECTIONS ALREADY
RECEIVED

To the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN papers, files on their traveling exhibitions through Miss Mary-Averett Seelye; to the MACBETH GALLERY records through Robert McIntyre; to the ST. LOUIS ARTISTS' GUILD files through Charles E. M. Norton.

TAPE RECORDINGS RECEIVED

A recording made on February 20, 1960, of a discussion on the life and works of MARSDEN HARTLEY by Miss Elizabeth McCausland and Jacques Lipchitz; a recording of a talk given by EDITH GREGOR HALPERT at the Brooklyn Museum on October 19, 1959, in which Mrs. Halpert describes her experiences at the American National Exhibition in Moscow where she served as curator of the exhibition of American paintings.

THE GARDEN CEMETERY AND AMERICAN SCULPTURE: MOUNT AUBURN

By FREDERIC A. SHARF

THE appearance of an American school of sculpture in the 1840's was a most striking artistic phenomenon, for it seemed to emerge full-blown out of a vacuum. In 1830, for example, America could point to but one sculptor of any fame, yet ten years later there were already four Americans vying for the title of successor to Canova. In the space of fifteen years a Yankee yokel, Hiram Powers, transformed himself into the rival of Praxiteles. While sculpture had been considered adjunctive to building in the early thirties, a decade later it had achieved complete autonomy. Nudity, which had shocked America in the days of Greenough's *Chanting Cherubs*, found all sorts of justifications as Americans accepted the proliferation of "Eves," "Proserpines," and "Evangelines" carved by native sculptors.

This sculptural efflorescence has most often been viewed from the vantage point of those sculptors who went to Italy to practice their art. The sure path to fame and fortune ran through Florence and Rome. Here the atmosphere was mellow, the cultural attractions rich, the artistic surroundings inexhaustible. Here the ever-practical American mind found a place where living was inexpensive, a place where models were cheaply and easily hired, and where experienced stonecutters were always at hand. No wonder that the shining lights of the new movement flocked to Italy to court renown.

But this emphasis upon the European roots of the new sculptural rage obscured the very real achievements of those sculptors who remained at home. The enthusiasm which supported the expatriate sculptors was generated by a great hunger in America for sculpture. This hunger was especially apparent in Boston. Until 1840 sculpture had attracted very little attention in Boston, save for that associated romantically with the Bostonian Horatio Greenough, so long absent in Italy. In June of that year the first sculpture exhibition opened at the Athenaeum, consisting of what few originals were owned in Boston and casts of great European works. In 1841 a group of Bostonians commissioned Thomas Crawford to execute his *Orpheus* in marble, a major landmark in the history of American artistic patronage. By 1842 there were four sculptors actively working in Boston, mostly on portrait busts, but occasionally on



Fig. 1. HENRY DEXTER, *Bimcy's Monument* (engraving)

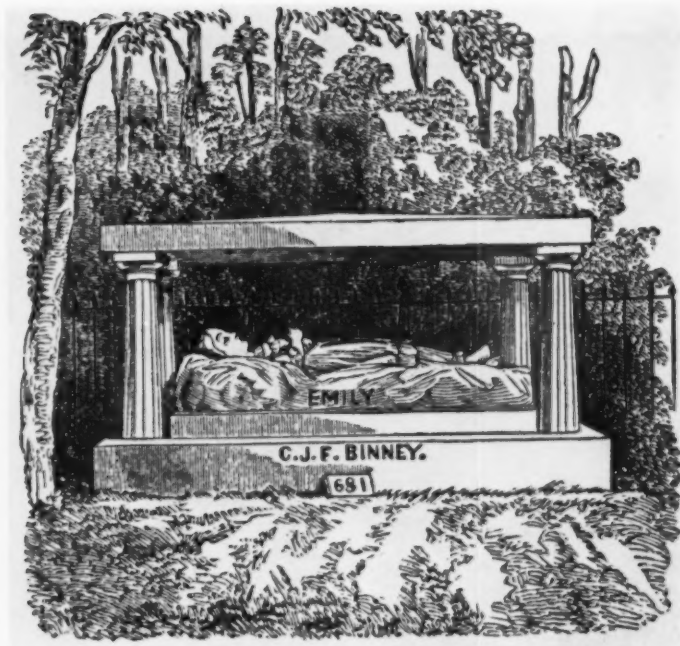


Fig. 2. HENRY DEXTER, *Emily Binney* (engraving)



Fig. 3. BALL HUGHES, *Nathaniel Bowditch*
Mount Auburn Cemetery

larger commissions. Within the next decade sculpture usurped the artistic limelight of that city.

One major factor in the city's life lay at the root of this artistic transformation—the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery. Burial places in Boston had always been crowded into small plots, or located beneath churches. As the city expanded it outgrew these old spots and a new cemetery became a functional necessity. In 1831 a group of Bostonians, mindful of this need and attracted by the idea of a location outside the city limits, decided to build a new and more pleasant type of graveyard in a large wooded area on the banks of the Charles River, known as Mount Auburn.

In 1829 a Horticultural Society had been established in Boston, ostensibly for the promotion of gardening. Actually, its leaders were interested in the movement for a rural cemetery. To make this innovation more palatable to the Boston public, they decided to combine it with an experimental garden. Death had too long been associated with ugliness and oblivion, they argued; here was a type of cemetery which would not be repulsive. No longer would a man lie in some uncared for and crowded city burial plot, or in some unidentified church vault. Now he would lie in his own grave, with a monument to mark it, and cared for by the Horticultural Society. Such a rural site would be a pleasant refuge from the hectic business of the city. Here one could go in sadness and disappointment. Here one could take a country stroll. Here lovers could seek privacy, while families might enjoy picnics and outings. Indeed, the scope of this project was varied.

It soon became obvious that the interests of the Horticultural Society were not identical with those of the cemetery proprietors. The idea of an experimental garden languished. In 1835 the cemetery was transferred to a new corporation, composed entirely of cemetery lot holders. In the following years it grew rapidly, as conservative Bostonians abandoned their fears and flocked to purchase lots. In fact, Mount Auburn soon became the greatest pride of the city. In 1838 omnibus service was extended directly to its gates. The next year illustrated guides to the cemetery were published for the convenience of Bostonians and tourists. By 1840 *The Transcript* could boast "every visitor [to Boston] goes to Mount Auburn as a matter of course."

The enthusiastic acceptance of the new cemetery, variously referred to as "an ornamental cemetery" or "a garden of graves," was reflected in many aspects of Boston life. In the summer of 1840 Bostonians, rising in protest against the shocking appearance of the ancient Granary Burial Ground in the

heart of the city, forced the city fathers to remove the cows that pastured there, to replace the unsightly brick wall with an iron fence, and to beautify the planting. In the forties Bostonians began to forsake the Common as their favorite recreational spot. "The day is beautiful . . . we went to Mount Auburn, and it appears lovely; how much better than the dreary resting places for the dead so common in New England," wrote Amos Lawrence in his diary. Lawrence was a frequent visitor to his cemetery lot. The most profound reflection of the new cemetery was the growth in Boston of a passion for sculpture.

From the very beginning it had been expected that the natural beauty of the spot would be enhanced by "works of taste." The founders envisioned a dignified form of ornamentation, erected not to gratify pride or vanity but simply to commemorate the lives of those resting beneath. In their severity, their simplicity, their rigidity, the monuments were to reflect that moral strictness which Boston prized. Then too, they would serve as historical reminders of the earlier generations who had molded America. Bostonians had become very conscious of their historical antecedents. Out of this consciousness came the Bunker Hill Monument. It is not surprising that many of the first monuments in Mount Auburn were miniature replicas of this structure.

This early conservatism soon gave way to an outright desire to make Mount Auburn famous for the statuary there. In 1838 Charles Sumner could boast that "nature had done as much for Mount Auburn as man has done for Père-la-Chaise," the famous French monumental cemetery. Only a few years later the whole conception of the place changed and a correspondent in *The Boston Evening Transcript* wrote: "If those who have lots in Mount Auburn will employ the genius of American artists, undoubtedly the first in the world, they may soon make it as remarkable for the treasures of art collected there, as it now is for its scenery." By 1850 Bostonians were boasting that Mount Auburn had outdone Père-la-Chaise.

In 1842 Charles Binney commissioned the first piece of statuary for the cemetery, a memorial to his young daughter. A year later a committee of prominent Bostonians decided to erect a full-sized statue of the great Boston navigator Bowditch. This decision is especially revealing, for the committee had been formed in 1838, the year of Bowditch's death, to raise money for the erection of a monument along the lines of the rising Bunker Hill Monument. In the five years that it had taken them to raise the funds, the changed conception of the cemetery forced them to alter their plans for a memorial.

The annual report of the Mount Auburn Trustees in 1843 revealed the

scope of this change. No longer was the natural beauty of the spot so important, for now their attention was devoted entirely to man-made additions: an iron fence to encircle the entire area; a tower to crown the top of the hill; and a chapel.

Now a chapel had been among the original ideas of the cemetery proprietors, but it had been conceived as a Doric Temple, which would serve both as a place for funerals and a lodge for the gardener of the Horticultural Society. The chapel proposed in 1843 was to be Gothic in design, and was to be constructed as a setting for statuary. Careful attention was to be given to lighting and spacing, so that works of art might be set off to best advantage.

Soon the opportunity arose to carry into practice the idea that lay beneath the new chapel design. In 1845 Judge Joseph Story, an original proprietor and a past President of the Corporation, died. In honor of his interest in the cemetery, as well as his great contribution to American legal development, it was decided to commission a statue of Story to be placed in the new chapel.

Strangely enough, the man chosen to execute this commission was the Judge's son William Story, a Boston lawyer. Young Story had dabbled in the arts during his undergraduate days at Harvard and as a boy growing up in Cambridge. Somehow the Trustees considered this training suitable to enable him to complete the important commission. Unhappy in the legal profession Story longed for a career in the arts. This commission gave him the long awaited chance to forsake the world of Blackstone for the world of Michelangelo. He set out for Italy to steep himself in art and prepare for the task ahead. He never again returned to America for any length of time, taking permanent residence in Rome. His career as a sculptor, misguided though it might have been, was clearly rooted in the altered conception of Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Prior to Story's departure for Italy, Boston had already attracted a small group of native sculptors who refused to settle in Italy. They found in Boston an atmosphere receptive to their talents. Edward Brackett arrived in Boston in 1841, to be followed a year later by his fellow Cincinnatian, John King. Henry Dexter, who had deserted his Pomfret, Connecticut, farm to set up as a portrait painter in Boston, abandoned portrait painting in the early forties for a career in sculpture. By far the most distinguished member of this group was a transplanted Englishman, Ball Hughes. Hughes had spent years studying in London with Bailey, the leading English sculptor of his time, and had already completed large commissions.

The breadth of Hughes' artistic training was unique. It found little outlet among a people primarily interested in portrait busts. The merchant wanted them to give to his family and business associates. Organizations and city governments demanded busts of politicians, soldiers and visiting celebrities of all sorts. "Purely ideal pieces must go abegging in this country; for the present, portrait-sculpture . . . is the sculptor's sole dependence," lamented Henry Dexter.

With the establishment of Mount Auburn and the growing interest in the cemetery as a potential museum of sculpture, the Boston sculptor was provided the incentive to more challenging work. In June of 1842 Bostonians flocked to Dexter's studio to see "the first full-length marble statue ever done in Boston," Dexter's memorial to Emily Binney. Bostonians were astounded to discover that such a work had been completed right in their midst. A year later they were further elated by the news that the Bowditch Memorial would be cast in the form of a full-sized statue, and that this work also was to be done right in Boston by the Boston sculptor Ball Hughes. To a city anxious about its cultural maturity, this artistic activity seemed to indicate a coming-of-age.

Hughes' progress on the Bowditch Memorial was eagerly followed. It took him a year to complete the preliminary model, at which time he threw open his studio to an enthusiastic public. The design met with great approval and Bostonians pressed Hughes for the finished work of art. But Hughes was not to be rushed, and protests began to appear about his slowness. When another year went by without the project being completed, Hughes' contract was declared void. Hughes continued work on the project by raising money from the sale of casts of other works. Meanwhile he was hounded, criticized, and publicly castigated. It was not until 1847 that Hughes finally completed the work, which was grudgingly accepted by the Committee. Hughes' career had been crushed by the experience. Bostonians proved themselves unequal to the artistic role they longed for; as businessmen, used to the terms of a business agreement, they were unfortunately capable of viewing art only in these terms, and proved unsympathetic to the artist's problems.

The forties was an extremely profitable decade for the cemetery. Lot prices doubled and the income of the corporation was so great that a surplus accrued. In the early fifties it was decided to use this money for a series of busts of public figures, done by local sculptors, to be placed in the chapel. In spite of the Hughes fiasco the Trustees were clinging to their plans to play the role of



Fig. 4. H. K. BROWN, *Jesus Blessing Little Children*.
Mount Auburn Cemetery



Fig. 5. HORATIO GREENOUGH, *Perkins Watchdog*.
Mount Auburn Cemetery

patron in fostering American art. By 1850 Mount Auburn contained actual works of art. Just inside the main gate stood the impressive statue of Bowditch (Fig. 3), placed on a granite base and set in a grove. In the Perkins lot a sculptured dog done by Horatio Greenough stood guard (Fig. 5). In the Eldridge lot stood a marble *alto relievo*, "Jesus Blessing Little Children" (Fig. 4). But by far the most famous was Dexter's memorial to Emily Binney (Figs. 1 and 2). Set in the middle of a grove on a terraced mound, surrounded by an iron fence—inside all was beautifully landscaped, while outside the trees and foliage arched luxuriously over the clearing—the impression made on contemporaries was overwhelming.

Boston had become sculpture conscious. This consciousness arose from the changed conception of Mount Auburn Cemetery, which provided a tangible objective for artistic achievement. The studios of Boston sculptors became major points of interest and the public eagerly followed the progress of their various works. A correspondent in *The Transcript*, commenting on a bust seen in Bracket's studio, admirably summed up the new enthusiasm and pride:

Here was a New England artist, employed by the son of an eminent New England benefactor, to execute from New England marble, a bust of his father. This looks well. It says everything for the progress of the arts among us.

BERNARD BERENSON, 1865–1959

SINCE the death of Bernard Berenson on October 6, 1959, countless tributes to his personality and to his ability as connoisseur and collector have appeared in newspapers and periodicals all over the world. Up to the present, however, no account of his writings on Italian art has been published in any scholarly Journal. The following lines constitute a wholly inadequate attempt to supply this need.

Berenson's first article on Italian art was printed in the *Nation* in 1892, when its author was twenty-seven years of age. A year later appeared in the same magazine his study entitled "Vasari in the Light of Recent Publications," which already showed the keen critical intelligence and the profound grasp of the principles of Italian art which were to distinguish his writings for the next sixty-five years. Then followed four volumes on the Italian painters of the Renaissance, which were to make Berenson's reputation—the Venetian painters in 1894, the Florentine in 1896, the Central Italian in the same year and the North Italian in 1907. Each of these books, comprising essays on the principal masters and lists of works, was reprinted again and again and in several languages, and eventually the four were consolidated into a single volume entitled *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*. Many of the youthful judgments embodied in this composite work have been discarded by subsequent students, including Berenson himself in his maturity and old age. But he never changed a word from the first edition to the latest, and the wisdom of his decision is attested by the immense and enduring success of the book as a whole, still the first reading to be suggested to anyone wishing to acquire an understanding of Italian painting.

A brilliant by-product of this initial work, Berenson's monograph on Lorenzo Lotto, first appeared in 1895 and, revised and magnificently illustrated, in 1955 and 1958. But an even more important study, the monumental *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, first saw the light in 1903 and, substantially revised with the assistance of younger scholars, in 1938. Despite numerous problems of attribution regarding which it is possible to differ with the author, this work remains the classic treatment of its subject, indispensable to any art library. The monograph on Sassetta in 1907 and the splendid *Venetian Painters in American Collections* complete the list of Berenson's major art-historical studies originally published as books. But for more than half a century articles, essays and briefer studies poured forth in a stream interrupted only by World War II, and the most important of these were reprinted in the three volumes entitled *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, and in *Essays in the Study of Sieneese Painting*, *Three Essays in Method*, and *Studies in Mediaeval Painting*. Dealing largely with problems of attribution to artists both major and minor, these scores of articles gave their now familiar shape to many hitherto misunderstood artistic figures, and even brought several masters back to intelligible existence for the first time.

In 1930 a new major work, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, first appeared as a whole, to be revised in 1936 in an Italian edition. This was not, strictly speaking, a book but

rather a consolidation and amplification of the lists of paintings originally appearing at the end of each of the four volumes on Italian painters. These lists, terse and dull catalogues as they may seem, are among the most vital productions of Berenson's thought, because each of the thousands of entries corresponds to a separate judgment of attribution, authenticity, date and condition. About 1950 the octogenarian scholar gallantly embarked upon a new revision of the lists, only one section of which, the richly illustrated *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Venetian Schools*, was to reach publication—in its author's ninety-third year. Brief appreciations of individual artists appeared in the 1950's, as well as a delightful series of essays and reviews in the Italian press, but by and large the scholarly activity of Bernard Berenson was over.

His immense production was generally distinguished by a witty, conversational tone which could easily mask the author's profound understanding of his field, until this was revealed by some lightning-flash of penetration into the very essence of Italian artistic genius. Berenson's enduring contribution—and it is very solid—represents not only the great body of specific achievements in the way of attribution and reconstruction, but far more important, the triumph of sharpened perception as an instrument of humanistic research. "The text, therefore, or its equivalent in our studies, the document or tradition, is of value only in connection with the work of art; in other words, is not itself material for the art student, but material of great value in helping to prepare the real materials, the works of art themselves . . ." "All that remains of an event in general history is the account of it in document or tradition; but in art the work of art itself is the event, and the only adequate source of information about the event, any other information, particularly if of the merely literary kind, being utterly incapable of conveying an idea of the precise nature and value of the event in art." These words, written more than two generations ago, give us an insight into the principles followed with unswerving loyalty by Berenson to the end of his career. They may well be noted today by younger scholars who recoil from "the dangers inherent in the purely visual approach to the work of art," because these principles require the student to follow, as the artist himself does, the evidence of his own eyes first. And, owing to the keenness and sensitivity of Berenson's perception, his reconstructed artistic personalities stuck together even when, as in the case of Amico di Sandro, he himself later tried to pull them apart. Moreover, the documents when discovered (the sojourn of Masolino at Empoli, for example, or the consistency of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," whose actual name was eventually unearthed by a younger scholar) had a way of verifying Berenson's assumptions made on the basis of pure stylistic analysis. Our basic ideas concerning Italian painting, and to a large extent our knowledge of the subject, are and will remain based on Berenson's work. No disagreements with individual attributions (and Berenson himself frequently changed his own mind in view of deepened and enriched experience) can challenge either the validity of his method or the quality of his achievement. Scholars who have never been wrong generally prove never to have been right either.

Berenson's very vocal contempt for pedantry ("mere learning" he once called it) should never deceive any of his hearers or readers into underrating his understanding of true scholarship or the vast extent of his erudition. But his lifelong devotion was to the

humanizing values in art. "Mankind's ultimate aim is satisfaction, yet not satisfaction on any plane, but on the highest plane attainable at a given moment by individuals capable, through gifts as well as numbers, because of their quality as well as their quantity, not only of inspiring but of leading the rest of mankind toward the desired goal." These words, which conclude his *Aesthetics and History in the Visual Arts*, may well suggest to us the motive power behind Bernard Berenson's unusually long and astoundingly rich lifetime of achievement.

FREDERICK HARTT

ACCESSIONS OF AMERICAN AND CANADIAN MUSEUMS

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1960

ANCIENT ART

*Indicates object is illustrated

CYCLADIC

Female Figurine. Crete, ca. 1500-1300 B.C. Parian marble, H. 8"; W. 2 3/4". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

EGYPTIAN

Osiris. New Kingdom (ca. 1400 B.C.). Gilded wood, 22" x 6" x 6". Los Angeles County Museum.

**Capital and Portion of a Frieze from a Cornice*. Coptic, 4th century A.D. Limestone, H. 13 1/2"; W. 23"; D. 11 3/4". H. 11 3/4"; W. 26 1/4"; D. 13". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

ETRUSCAN

**Black-Figured Panel Amphora*. 6th century B.C. Pottery, H. 13 3/4". The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

Rod Tripod. Late 6th century B.C. Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

GREEK

400 objects of ancient Greek art have recently been acquired by The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. They are Harvard's share of the collection of the late Professor David M. Robinson, a pioneer classical archaeologist and discoverer of the ancient Greek city of Olynthus.

Athena Relief. 5th century B.C. or Archaistic. Marble, H. 29 1/8"; W. 19". The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

**Grave Relief*. Attic, 4th century B.C. Marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Lekythos. Athena Painter, end of 6th or early 5th century B.C. Terracotta, black figured, H. 12 3/8". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Mirror. Ca. 460-450 B.C. Bronze, H. 10". William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

Panathenaic Amphora. Attic, late 6th century B.C. Terracotta, black figured, H. 21 3/4". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Trefoil Jug. Late 4th century B.C. Pottery, H. 9". The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

Tripod Kothon. Boeotia, early 6th century B.C. Terracotta. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

IBERIAN

Figure. 5th-4th century B.C. Bronze, H. 2 1/8". Seattle Art Museum.

PERUVIAN

Jacuar. Ca. 500 A.D., Mochica style. Gold, L. 4". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

PRE-ISLAMIC

Vessel in Form of a Humped Ox. 7th century B.C. or earlier. Red earthenware with small black spots overall, H. 8 3/8". Seattle Art Museum.

ROMAN

Askos. Apulia, early 3rd century B.C. Terracotta. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

**Parade Helmet*. Syria, 150-230 A.D. Silver with gold foil covered ornaments, H. 12 3/8"; L. 11 3/4". The Toledo Museum of Art.

**Votive Relief*. 1st-2nd century A.D. Marble, H. 23 1/2"; W. 29"; Th. 3". The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

PRIMITIVE ART

AFRICAN

Seated Musician. Buli, 19th century. Wood, H. 0.57 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

Standing Female Figure. Nigeria. Wood, H. 51 1/2". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

COSTA RICAN

Figure of a Man Playing Flute. Pre-Columbian. H. 9". Akron Art Institute.

MEXICAN

Glyph with dated symbols of the Plumed Serpent, Quetzalcoatl. Aztec. Stone, 7 1/2" x 7 1/2" x 14 1/2". The Dayton Art Institute.

Seated Ball Player. Nayarit. Terracotta, H. 15". The Dayton Art Institute.

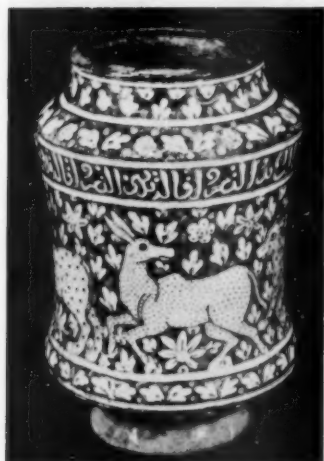
Seated Dog. Colima. Terracotta, H. 9". The Dayton Art Institute.

MEDIEVAL ART

PAINTING

FRENCH

**Holy Trinity*. Ca. 1470-1480. Oil on panel, H. 46 7/8"; W. 41 1/8". The Cleveland Museum of Art.



TOP: 1. *Roman Parade Helmet*. Syrian, 150-230 A.D. The Toledo Museum of Art. 2. *Grave Relief*. Attic, 4th century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 3. *Black-Figured Panel Amphora*. Etruscan, 6th century B.C. The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.

CENTER: 1. *Votif Relief*. Roman, 1st-2nd century A.D. The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. 2. *Capital and Portion of Frieze from a Cornice*. Coptic, 4th century. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

BOTTOM: 1. *Rayy Albarello*. Persian, 13th century. Seattle Art Museum. 2. *Lusterware Bowl*. Egypt, Fatimid Period. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. 3. *Rayy Ewer*. Persian, 12th century. Seattle Art Museum.



TOP: 1. *Holy Trinity*. French, ca. 1470-1480. The Cleveland Museum of Art. 2. JACOPO DEL CASENTINO, *Madonna and Child Enthroned Between Saints and Angels*. University of Michigan Museum of Art. 3. GIORGIO VASARI, *Abraham and Melchizedek*. Bob Jones University Gallery.

CENTER: 1. JAN VAN GOYEN, *View of the Spaarne River, Haarlem*. The Detroit Institute of Arts. 2. RAPHAEL CAMPHUYSEN, *Elijah Fed by the Ravens*. Bob Jones University Gallery.

BOTTOM: 1. JOHANNES LINGELBACH, *Piazza del Popolo*. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. 2. ANONYMOUS, *Still-Life with Girl Standing at a Table*. Franco-Flemish, early 17th century. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

ITALIAN

*Jacopo del Casentino, *Madonna and Child Enthroned Between Saints and Angels*. Tempera on panel, H. 25 1/2"; W. 15 1/4". University of Michigan Museum of Art.

Palmezzano, Marco, *Christ Bearing the Cross*. Panel, H. 21 7/8"; W. 18 1/4". Bob Jones University Art Gallery.

SPANISH

St. George and the Dragon. Catalonia, 15th century. Oil on panel. The Denver Art Museum.

ENGRAVING

FLEMISH

Bosch, Hieronymus, *The Last Judgment*. H. 9 1/3"; W. 19 1/8". Los Angeles County Museum.

SCULPTURE

FRANCO-FLEMISH

Virgin and Child (relief). 14th century. Alabaster, H. 16"; W. 4 3/4". Dept. of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

GERMAN

The Dormition of the Virgin. Franconian or Rhenish, 1470-1490. Wood with polychrome, H. 22"; W. 35". William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center, University of North Carolina.

ITALIAN

Carved Column with Interlacing Foliage Pattern and Figures of SS. Peter and Paul and Two Other Saints. Byzantine, ca. 1200. Marble, H. 51 1/4"; Diam. 5 1/4". Smith College Museum of Art.

DECORATIVE ARTS

CERAMICS

*Bowls (3). Egypt, Fatimid, late 11th-mid-12th century A.D. Painted lusterware. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

*Rayy Albarello with Animal Border Decoration. Persia, 13th century. Tan earthenware, H. 12". Seattle Art Museum.

*Rayy Ewer with Band of Kufic Inscription. Persia, 12th century. Glazed earthenware, fine foliate ground, molded and pierced, H. 7 1/8". Seattle Art Museum.

SIXTEENTH THROUGH NINETEENTH CENTURY ART

PAINTING

(Unless otherwise indicated, all paintings listed are oil on canvas)

AMERICAN

*Anonymous, *Catharine Van Alstyne*. 1732. H. 39 1/2"; W. 30". Albany Institute of History and Art.

Beechey, R., *Mission of San Francisco*. Watercolor. *Presidio of San Francisco*. Watercolor. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Bierstadt, Albert, *Mountainous Landscape by Moonlight*. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Cropsey, Jasper Francis, *Janetta Falls, New Jersey*. H. 22"; W. 19". Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Eakins, Thomas, *Portrait of Master Alfred Douth*. H. 20"; W. 16". Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Fuller, George F., *Ohio River Landscape, probably near Louisville*. 1868. H. 38 3/4"; W. 33 1/4". The J. B. Speed Museum, Louisville.

Groombridge, William, *Woodlands, the Seat of William Hamilton*. H. 45 1/2"; W. 58 1/8". Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Hays, William, *Herd of Buffalo*. 1862. H. 25 1/2"; W. 48 1/2". The Denver Art Museum.

Inman, Henry, *Forest Glen*. Watercolor, H. 25"; W. 28". The Brooklyn Museum.

Inness, George, *Back of Nichols' Barn, Sconset*. 1883. Academy board, H. 18 1/2"; W. 24 1/2". Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences.

Keith, William, *California Landscape*. H. 39 1/8"; W. 71 1/8". Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Moran, Edward, *Seascape*. H. 8"; W. 14". *Fisherman*. H. 11"; W. 9". The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego.

Sargent, John Singer, *Interior of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople*. 1891. H. 30 1/4"; W. 24". The J. B. Speed Museum, Louisville.

Sargent, John Singer, *Women at Work*. H. 21 1/4"; W. 28 1/4". Albany Institute of History and Art.

*Waldo, Samuel Lovett, *Portrait of Miss Harper*. Late 1830's. H. 30"; W. 24 1/2". The Newark Museum.

*Whistler, James A. McN., *Symphony in Red*. H. 15 1/2"; W. 14". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Whistler, James A. McN., *The Sea*. H. 20"; W. 37" (sight). Montclair Art Museum.

Woodville, Richard Caton, *Waiting for the Stage*. H. 15"; W. 18 1/8". The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

CANADIAN

Anonymous, *Scenes of the Ottawa River* (pair). Probably originals of the two prints in W. H. Bartlett's *Canadian Scenery*, 1824. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

DUTCH

*Camphuysen, Raphael, *Elijah Fed by the Ravens*. H. 28 11/16"; W. 39 1/16". Bob Jones University Gallery.

Codde, Pieter, *Tavern Scene*. Oil on wood, H. 7 1/4"; W. 5 3/4". The Pasadena Art Museum.

Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den, *Children on a Terrace*. 1667. H. 53³/₈" W. 62". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Goyen, Jan van, *View of Rhenen*. 1641. H. 56¹/₂" W. 87¹/₄". The Art Gallery of Toronto.

*Goyen, Jan van, *View of the Spaarne River, Haarlem*. H. 14³/₈" W. 19¹/₂". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

*Lingelbach, Johannes, *Piazza del Popolo*. H. 22³/₄" W. 29". The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

*Moreelse, Paulus, *Portrait of a Gentleman*. 1625. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

Ochtervelt, Jacob, *The Concert*. H. 33" W. 26¹/₂". The Dayton Art Institute.

Ochtervelt, Jacob, *The Elzevir Family*. 1666. H. 29¹/₈" W. 24¹/₈". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Savery, Roelandt, *Mountain Landscape*. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Scorel, Jan van, *Portrait of a Young Man*. Oil on panel, H. 16¹/₂" W. 13¹/₄". The Denver Art Museum.

*Terbrugghen, Hendrick, *Boy Violinist*. H. 41³/₄" W. 31¹/₄". The Dayton Art Institute.

Venne, Adriaen van de, *Allegory of Poverty*. H. 21¹/₂" W. 16³/₈". Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

ENGLISH

Girtin, Thomas, *A Ruined Abbey*. Watercolor, H. 9⁷/₈" W. 11¹/₈". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

*Gainsborough, Thomas, *Major General Sir William Draper*. H. 50" W. 40". M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

*Lawrence, Sir Thomas, *Portrait of Lord Cavendish*. H. 30" W. 25¹/₈". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Marshall, Benjamin, *Blackleg*. H. 20" W. 30". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

*Martin, John, *The Seventh Plague of Egypt*. H. 57" W. 84¹/₂". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Raeburn, Sir Henry, *Portrait of Alan Grant*. H. 29¹/₂" W. 24¹/₂". Montclair Art Museum.

*Reynolds, Sir Joshua, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Bowlby*. H. 28³/₄" W. 24". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Smart, John, *Master Robert Woolf, Grandson of the Artist*. 1796. Watercolor, H. 6" W. 5³/₈". Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino.

FLEMISH

*Anonymous, *Still-Life with Girl Standing at a Table*. Franco-Flemish, ca. 1610-1620. Oil on panel, H. 28¹/₂" W. 41". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Head of an Old Man*. Study for a figure in *Christ and the Adulteress* in Brussels. Oil on

panel, H. 26¹/₂" W. 19³/₄". The Dayton Art Institute.

FRENCH

*Boucher, François, *Idyllic Landscape with Woman Fishing*. H. 18¹/₂" W. 26". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Bourdon, Sébastien, *Laban Going into the Desert*. Before 1640. H. 20" W. 24¹/₂". Smith College Museum of Art.

*Champaigne, Philippe de, *Christ Healing a Deaf-Mute*. University of Michigan Museum of Art.

Champaigne, Philippe de, *The Visitation*. H. 44¹/₄" W. 38¹/₂". The Pasadena Art Museum.

Clouet, François (attrib. to), *Catherine de Clèves, Duchesse de Guise*. Ca. 1585. Miniature, 3¹/₂" x 2¹/₂". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Lacroix, Charles-François, *A Seaport*. 1750. H. 37¹/₄" W. 65³/₄". The Toledo Museum of Art.

*Lancret, Nicolas, *Portrait of the Actor Grandval*. H. 27" W. 33¹/₂". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

*Le Nain, Mathieu, *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Oil on canvas transferred to panel, H. 27" W. 22¹/₂". Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans.

Nattier, Jean-Marc, *Portrait of Mme de Frémicourt*. H. 31" W. 25¹/₂". The Birmingham Museum of Art.

*Perronneau, Jean-Baptiste, *Portrait of the Engraver Laurent Cars*. H. 19¹/₈" W. 15³/₄". University of Michigan Museum of Art.

Robert, Hubert, *Women Amongst the Ruins*. Watercolor, H. 12¹/₂" W. 16¹/₂" (sight). The Birmingham Museum of Art.

Rousseau, Théodore, *La Jetée du Port de Granville*. Oil on panel, H. 6¹³/₁₆" W. 16¹³/₁₆". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Sisley, Alfred, *Le Canal du Loing à Moret*. 1892. H. 23³/₄" W. 28³/₄". Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

ITALIAN

Amigoni, Jacopo, *Portrait of a Cardinal*. H. 51¹/₄" W. 37³/₄". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

*Asseretto, Gioachino, *St. Augustin and his Mother St. Monica*. H. 39¹/₄" W. 48¹/₂". The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Francia, Francesco Maria, *Madonna and Child with St. Francis*. Oil on panel, H. 23¹/₄" W. 18". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

*Manfredi, Bartolomeo, *Allegory of the Seasons*. H. 53" W. 36". The Dayton Art Institute.

*Piazzetta, Giovanni Battista, *Portrait of a Man* (possibly self-portrait). H. 18¹/₂" W. 15¹/₂". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

*Pozzo, Andrea, *Study for a Chapel in the Jesuit Church in Vienna*. H. 29¹/₄" W. 24¹/₄". University of Michigan Museum of Art.

Tibaldi, Pellegrino, *Sacred Conversation*. Panel, H. 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ " ; W. 47 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Bob Jones University Art Gallery.

*Vasari, Giorgio, *Abraham and Melchizedek*. H. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Bob Jones University Art Gallery.

SPANISH

Lucas, Eugenio, *The Spanish Inquisition*. Oil on panel, H. 0.53 m.; W. 0.80 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

DRAWING

AMERICAN

Abbey, Edwin Austin, *Miss Hardcastle and Miss Neville*. 1884. Pen and Ink. Montclair Art Museum.

*Bingham, George Caleb, *Seated Man*. Pencil, H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 3 $\frac{13}{16}$ ". William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

Ranney, William, *Dragoon with his Charger*. Pencil. *Tooth Extraction*. Wash. *Three Fishermen in a Skiff*. Ink. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

DUTCH

Bosboom, Johannes, *Cathedral of St. Bavon, Haarlem*. Crayon and Chinese ink on paper, H. 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ " ; W. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". *Portuguese Synagogue, Amsterdam*. Wash on paper, H. 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ " ; W. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Jongkind, Johann Barthold, *View of Arnheim*. 1864. Gouache and charcoal on paper, H. 12" ; W. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Cleveland Museum of Art.

*Rembrandt, *Christ Taken before Caiaphas*. Ca. 1641-1642. Pen, reed pen and brush with bistre ink, touches of white, H. 187 mm.; W. 234 mm. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

FRENCH

Boucher, François, *A Decorative Panel with Bacchus and Ariadne*. Red and black chalk heightened with white on buff paper, H. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " ; W. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

*Boucher, François, *Venus and Amor* (study for a ceiling). Pen and brown wash, H. 250 mm; W. 315 mm. The Art Institute of Chicago.

*Champaigne, Philippe de (attrib. to), *Figures in a Religious Procession*. Pencil, pen and brown ink, brown wash on buff paper, H. 5 $\frac{11}{16}$ " ; W. 4 $\frac{13}{16}$ ". Smith College Museum of Art.

Dumonstier, Pierre, l'oncle, *Head of a Man*. Black and yellow chalk, H. 11" ; W. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Birmingham Museum of Art.

Redon, Odilon, *Young Girl*. Ca. 1890. Charcoal, H. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Valadon, Suzanne, *Catherine s'essuyant*. 1895. Pencil and watercolor, H. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sight). The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

GERMAN

Pöppelmann, Matthias Daniel (attrib. to), *Design for a Palace for the Pterswalsky von Peterswald Family*. Ca. 1725-1735. Pen and ink with gray wash. The Cooper Union Museum, New York.

ITALIAN

*Bazzani, Giuseppe, *Madonna and Child with Saints*. Pen and brown ink with brush and gray wash, H. 292 mm.; W. 394 mm. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Bella, Stefano della, *Study of Horses' Heads*. Pen and bistre ink, H. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " ; W. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

*Grassi, Nicola, *Adoration of the Christ Child with St. Jerome and a Guardian Angel*. Charcoal on paper with highlights of white chalk, H. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; W. 8". Seattle Art Museum.

Palma Il Giovane, Jacopo, *Allegorical Figure of Venice with St. John and Bishop*. Sepia brush and white oil chalk wash on faded blue paper, top: 9 $\frac{13}{16}$ " ; bottom 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; 13 $\frac{7}{16}$ " l. & 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ " r. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, *A Design for an Altarpiece*. Pen and wash, H. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

*Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, *Jesus in the House of Jairus*. Pen and wash, H. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; W. 15". The Art Institute of Chicago.

SWISS

*Liotard, Jean-Etienne, *Profile Bust of a Woman*. Crayon, pencil and wash, H. 10" ; W. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " (sight). The Dayton Art Institute.

ENGRAVING

AMERICAN

Savage, Edward (after Charles Willson Peale), *David Rittenhouse, L.L.D.-F.R.S.* 1796. Mezzotint, H. 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; W. 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

ENGLISH

Gainsborough, Thomas, *Landscape*. Soft ground etching. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

FRENCH

Bonnet, L. M., *Tête de Vieillard*. Etching in three colors. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Pater, J. B., *Halte de Soldats*. Original etching. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

GERMAN

Dürer, Albrecht, *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*. Woodcut, H. 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ " ; W. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Dayton Art Institute.

ARCHITECTURE

AMERICAN

*Goldsmith, Jonathan, *Door from the Isaac Gillett House*, Painesville, Ohio. 1821. Wood. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Portal with Fluted Pilasters and Cornice. 18th century. Wood. The Denver Art Museum.

SCULPTURE

FRENCH

Carpeaux, Jean-Baptiste, *Study for "Genius of the Dance"*. Terracotta, H. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Yale University Art Gallery.

Rodin, Auguste, *Head of Sorrow*. 1882. Bronze. Yale University Art Gallery.

CANADIAN

Anonymous, *Flower Carvings* (pair). French-Canadian, second half 19th century. Wood, L. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; W. 23". The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

GERMAN

*Anonymous, *Archangel Michael*. Lower Bavaria, ca. 1630. Polychromed wood, H. 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The Cleveland Museum of Art.

ITALIAN

Algardi, Alessandro, *Bust of San Filippo Neri*. Bronze, H. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Smith College Art Museum.

Montorsoli, G. A., *Pan*. Black and white marble, H. 0.54 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

Parodi, Filippo, *Madonna of the Immaculate Conception*. Polychromed stucco, H. 39". The Denver Art Museum.

DECORATIVE ARTS

CERAMICS

**America*, from a set representing four Continents. Germany, Meissen; attrib. to J. J. Kändler. Porcelain, H. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The Cooper Union Museum, New York.

Cups and Saucers, with paintings attrib. to C. F. Herold. German, 1725-1730. Meissen. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.

Kakeimon Tableware. German, ca. 1725. Meissen. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.

**Figure of a Man and Woman, from Italian Comedy*. German, Nymphenburg, modeled by Franz Bustelli. Porcelain. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.

**Melpomene*. German, Meissen, J. J. Kändler. Made for Catherine the Great, ca. 1772-1774. Porcelain, H. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.

Pie Plate. Pennsylvania Dutch, 1833. Sgraffito; *Plate*. Pennsylvania Dutch, 1789. Sgraffito. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Tucker Vases (pair), with painted panels: 1 after the *Madonna della Sedia* by Raphael in the Pitti Palace, Florence; the other of St. John the Evangelist. Gold and polychrome flower decoration. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

FURNITURE

Arm Chair. French, 16th century. Carved walnut. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

**Bookcase and Secretary*, bearing five labels of "Anthony G. Quervelle, Cabinet and Sofa Manufactory, South Second Street a few doors below Dock, Philadelphia"; also three testimonial stickers: "This Bookcase & Secretary was exhibited by Anthony G. Quervelle at the Franklin Institute in 1827 and obtained the Silver medal from Competent judges of the Same." The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Cabinet. German, 17th century. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Mantel Clock. French, ca. 1770-1775. Dial signed Mercier à Paris; case in the manner of Falconet. Gilt bronze, enameled dial, H. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; L. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Toledo Museum of Art.

Open Arm Chair. French, 17th century. Twisted frames and stretchers, covered in antique floral embroidery. The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

GLASS

Stained Glass Panels (3). Flemish, 16th century. Scenes from the story of Gideon, H. 0.70 m. The Art Museum, Princeton University.

METAL

Candelabra (four). French, middle 18th century, after J. A. Meissonier. Gilt bronze, H. 17". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Creamer, with coat-of-arms of the Apthorp-Morton family. Paul Revere, Jr., ca. 1780-1790. Silver, H. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Art Institute of Chicago.

Mug. English (London), Joseph Clare, 1717. Silver, H. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ "; Diam. at top: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Portland Art Museum.

**Pipe Warmer*. American, Adrian Bancker. Silver with wooden handle, Diam. 47 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Porringer (2-handled). American, Otto Paul Parisien. Silver, Diam. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Porringer. American, Simeon Soumaine. Silver. Museum of the City of New York.

Snuff Box. Russian, Johann Wilhelm Keibel. Gold, H. 3.83 cm. The City Art Museum of St. Louis.

Tankard. American, John Coney. Silver, H. 17.3 cm. The City Art Museum of St. Louis.

Tray. American, Samuel Tingley. Silver. Museum of the City of New York.



TOP: 1. HENDRICK TERBRUGGHEN, *Boy Violinist*. The Dayton Art Institute. 2. ANONYMOUS, *Archangel Michael*. German, ca. 1630. The Cleveland Museum of Art. 3. BARTOLOMEO MANFREDI, *Allegory of the Seasons*. The Dayton Art Institute.

CENTER: 1. PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE, *Christ Healing a Deaf-Mute*. University of Michigan Museum of Art. 2. GIOACHINO ASSERETTO, *St. Augustine and His Mother St. Monica*. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

BOTTOM: 1. MATHIEU LE NAIN, *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans. 2. PAULUS MOREELSE, *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence. 3. G. B. PIAZZETTA, *Portrait of a Man*. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.



TOP: 1. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Bowlby*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis. 2. ANDREA POZZO, *Study for a Chapel in the Jesuit Church in Vienna*. University of Michigan Museum of Art. 3. SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, *Portrait of Lord Cavendish*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

CENTER: 1. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, *Idyllic Landscape with Woman Fishing*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis. 2. NICOLAS LANCRET, *Portrait of the Actor Grandval*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

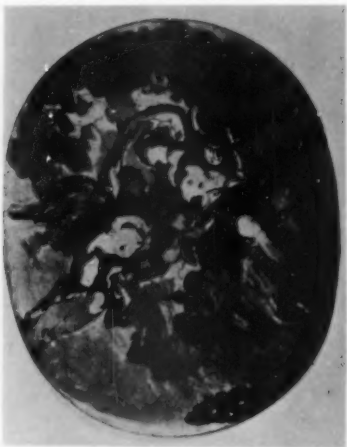
BOTTOM: 1. ANONYMOUS, *Catherine van Alstyne*. American, 1732. Albany Institute of History and Art. 2. JEAN-BAPTISTE PERRONNEAU, *Portrait of the Engraver Laurent Cars*. University of Michigan Museum of Art. 3. THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, *Major General Sir William Draper*. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.



TOP: 1. *Savonnerie Wall Panel: Winter*. French, ca. 1730. The Toledo Museum of Art. 2. *Melpomene*. German, Meissen, J. J. Kändler. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University. 3. *Savonnerie Wall Panel: Summer*. French, ca 1730. The Toledo Museum of Art.

CENTER: *Pipe Warmer*. American, Adrian Bancker, act. mid-18th century. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

BOTTOM: 1. *Figure of a Woman from Italian Comedy*. German, Nymphenburg, Franz Bustelli. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University. 2. *America*, from a set representing four continents. German, Meissen, attrib. to J. J. Kändler. The Cooper Union Museum, New York. 3. *Figure of a Man from Italian Comedy*. German, Nymphenburg, Franz Bustelli. Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.



TOP: 1. FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, *Venus and Amor* (study for a ceiling). The Art Institute of Chicago. 2. PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE (attrib. to), *Figures in a Religious Procession*. Smith College Museum of Art. 3. NICOLA GRASSI, *Adoration of the Christ Child*. Seattle Art Museum.

CENTER: 1. GIUSEPPE BAZZANI, *Madonna and Child with Saints*. The Cleveland Museum of Art. 2. REMBRANDT, *Christ Taken Before Caiaphas*. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

BOTTOM: 1. JEAN-ETIENNE LIOTARD, *Profile Bust of a Woman*. The Dayton Art Institute. 2. GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM, *Seated Man*. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. 3. G. D. TIEPOLO, *Jesus in the House of Jairus*. The Art Institute of Chicago.

STONE

Model for Medal of Andreas Imhoff. German, 1569. Blackened stone, oval, $3\frac{1}{16}'' \times 2\frac{1}{16}''$. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

TEXTILES

**Summer and Winter.* French, ca. 1730. Savonnerie wall panels, wool, pile woven, $112'' \times 88''$. The Toledo Museum of Art.

The Sacrifice of Abraham. Probably Dalmatian, 16th century. Punto rosso embroidery, H. $9\frac{1}{4}''$; W. $15\frac{1}{4}''$. Dept. of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

VARIA

Baptism of Christ; Christ Carrying the Cross; Companion Piece. Flemish, 17th century. Three wax miniatures. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ART

PAINTING

AMERICAN

Adrian, *Costume Sketches.* 1959-1960. Watercolor, H. $21\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $27\frac{1}{2}''$. Museum of the City of New York.

*Baziotes, William, *Water Form.* 1947. H. $20''$; W. $23\frac{7}{8}''$. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

*Bellows, George, *Mrs. T. in Cream Silk.* 1920. H. $53''$; W. $43''$. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

*Benton, Thomas Hart, *Henry Look Unhitching.* H. $22\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $27''$. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Burchfield, Charles, *The Night Wind.* 1918. Watercolor and gouache, H. $21\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $21\frac{1}{8}''$. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Eilshemius, Louis M., *Landscape.* 1916. Oil on cardboard, H. $24\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $40''$. Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

Feininger, Lyonel, *Rainbow over Deep, Pomerania.* 1931. Watercolor, H. $13''$; W. $18''$. The J. B. Speed Art Museum.

Feininger, Lyonel, *White Walls.* 1953. H. $24''$; W. $17''$. The Newark Museum.

Fiore, Joseph, *Poland Spring.* H. $79\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $63\frac{3}{4}''$. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

Francis, Sam, *Two Worlds.* H. $96''$; W. $116\frac{1}{2}''$. The Art Gallery of Toronto.

Glackens, William J., *View of East River from Brooklyn.* H. $25''$; W. $30''$. Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Gluckman, Grigory, *At the Court of Henry III, Paris.* H. $53''$; W. $35''$. The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown.

*Gottlieb, Adolph, *The Mutable Objects.* 1946. H. $30''$; W. $24''$. The Newark Museum.

Gottlieb, Adolph, *Unstill Life Number 3.* 1954-1956. H. $67\frac{3}{4}''$; W. $17\frac{5}{8}''$. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Grosz, George, *Resting Nude in Landscape.* H. $20''$; W. $26''$. The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown.

Hofmann, Hans, *Laburnum No. 2.* 1959. H. $36''$; W. $23\frac{1}{2}''$. The Newark Museum.

*Hopper, Edward, *Second Story Sunlight.* H. $40''$; W. $50''$. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

Kantor, Morris, *Nude.* The Pasadena Art Museum.

Kooning, William de, *Door to the River.* H. $80''$; W. $70''$. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

*Kuniyoshi, Yasuo, *Mr. Ace.* 1952. H. $46''$; W. $26''$. The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Luks, George, *Barefoot Boy.* H. $34''$; W. $28''$. Montclair Art Museum.

Luks, George, *Mary, the Girl with the Dream Eyes.* 1923. H. $20''$; W. $16''$. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

*Meitzler, Neil, *Procession, Mykonos.* 1960. Casein on paper on masonite, H. $14\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $17''$. Seattle Art Museum.

Parker, Raymond, *untitled.* 1959. H. $68\frac{1}{2}''$; W. $69''$. Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.

*Ting, Walasse, *Bombardment Incessant.* 1959. H. $81''$; W. $70''$. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Tooker, George, *Sleepers II.* 1960. Egg tempera on composition board, H. $16\frac{1}{8}''$; W. $28''$. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

*Williams, Hiram D., *Challenging Man.* 1958. Oil and enamel on canvas, H. $96\frac{1}{4}''$; W. $72\frac{1}{8}''$. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

ENGLISH

Bratby, John, *Its Roots Will Break My Studio Floor.* H. $43\frac{1}{4}''$; W. $33\frac{1}{4}''$. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

FRENCH

Bombois, Camille, *Bridge Across River.* H. $32''$; W. $39\frac{1}{4}''$. Los Angeles County Museum.

Bombois, Camille, *Pêcheur.* H. $10\frac{1}{8}''$; W. $16\frac{1}{4}''$. Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

*Braque, Georges, *The Stove.* 1944. H. $57\frac{3}{8}''$; W. $34\frac{3}{4}''$. Yale University Art Gallery.

Buffet, Bernard, *Les Parisiennes.* 1958. H. $75''$; W. $50\frac{1}{2}''$. *La Ray.* 1954. H. $54''$; W. $75''$. The Pasadena Art Museum.

Dubuffet, Jean, *Tête Sableuse.* 1950. Oil on masonite, H. $28\frac{3}{4}''$; W. $23\frac{3}{8}''$. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College.

Herbin, Auguste, *Exhibition Poster.* 1960. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Hosiasson, Philippe, *Water Traps*. 1959. H. 65"; W. 53". The Newark Museum.

*Matta, *Rencontre*. (Sketch for his mural in UNESCO Building, Paris.) H. 43"; W. 56". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Poliakoff, Serge, *Composition*. 1953. H. 35"; W. 45 1/2". Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.

Rousseau, Henri, *Football Players*. 1908. H. 39 1/2"; W. 31 3/4". The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

Roussel, Ker Xavier, *The Infancy of Jupiter*. Oil on tempera on canvas, H. 83 1/4"; W. 60 1/4". The Dayton Art Institute.

Roussel, Ker Xavier, *Garden of the Hesperides*. 1923-1924. Wall panel, H. 83 1/4"; W. 60 1/4". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

GERMAN

Beckmann, Max, *Firebrand Over Via Reggia*. 1925. H. 18 1/4"; W. 33 1/2". The Denver Art Museum.

*Heckel, Erich, *Sand Diggers on the Tiber*. H. 38"; W. 32 1/2". Los Angeles County Museum.

Jawlensky, Alexei, *Variation VII*. H. 14 1/8"; W. 10 1/2". Los Angeles County Museum.

*Meidner, Ludwig, *Portrait*. 1914. H. 37 1/2"; W. 31 3/8". Los Angeles County Museum.

Schwitters, Kurt, *Herrn Kurt*. 1922. Collage, H. 7"; W. 5 1/2". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

IRISH

*Le Brocq, Louis, *Presence F49*. 1960. H. 39 1/2"; W. 25 1/2". The Detroit Institute of Arts.

ITALIAN

Afro, *Villa Fleurent*. 1958. H. 57 1/2"; W. 68 3/4". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Campigli, Massimo, *Seven Women*. 1930-1931. H. 45 3/4"; W. 32". Smith College Museum of Art.

Guttuso, Renato, *Horse and Rider*. 1946. H. 31"; W. 23". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Santomaso, Giuseppe, *Cantiere in Laguna*. 1953. H. 45 1/4"; W. 35 1/4". Smith College Museum of Art.

RUSSIAN

Soutine, Chaim, *Vue sur Céret*. Ca. 1922. H. 29 1/8"; W. 29 1/2". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Tchelicew, Pavel, *Portrait of Natalie Glasko*. H. 39 1/4". W. 31 7/8". Yale University Art Gallery.

SPANISH

Picasso, Pablo, *Head*. Ca. 1906. Watercolor, H. 8 3/4"; W. 6 7/8". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Tapias, Antonio, *Grey with Lateral Relief*. 1959. Mixed media, H. 77"; W. 67". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Tapias, Antonio, *White Space*. 1958. H. 64"; W. 51 1/4". Lawrence Art Museum, Williams College.

DRAWING

AMERICAN

Baskin, Leonard, *Boston Boys*. 1953. Pen and black ink on buff laid paper, H. 23"; W. 35 1/2". The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Bloom, Hyman, *Wrestlers*. Pencil, H. 11 1/4"; W. 17 7/8". The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Grosz, George, *Bathers*. Ink and watercolor on paper, H. 19 1/16"; W. 25". Worcester Art Museum.

Hartley, Marsden, *Self-Portrait*. Pencil, H. 11 1/8"; W. 7 3/4". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

Knaths, Karl, *Day of Atonement*. 1938-1940. Crayon, pencil and india ink on paper, 15 3/4" sq. Study for painting in the Museum's collection. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Lebrun, Rico, *Angel and Prophet*. 1959. Ink, wash and collage, H. 38 7/8"; W. 25" (sight). The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

Lebrun, Rico, *The Black Golgotha with Two Figures*. Ink on wood, H. 96"; W. 75". Los Angeles County Museum.

Pascin, Jules, *Emil Ganso*. Pen, H. 25 1/2"; W. 20". Dept. of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.

FRENCH

Despiau, Charles, *Reclining Nude*. Sanguine, H. 8"; W. 14 1/4". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

RUSSIAN

*Kandinsky, Wassily, *K478*. 1932. Watercolor and pencil on paper, H. 16"; W. 22 1/2". Seattle Art Museum.

SPANISH

Picasso, Pablo, *La Source*. 1921. Pencil, H. 19 7/16"; W. 25 3/16". The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Picasso, Pablo, *Standing Nude, Torso*. Ca. 1904. Pen, H. 10 3/8"; W. 2 3/4". The Baltimore Museum of Art.

ENGRAVING

SPANISH

Miró, Joan, *Illustration from "René Char-Nous Avons."* Original color lithograph, H. 7 1/2"; W. 5 1/8". Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts.

SCULPTURE

AMERICAN

Archipenko, Alexander, *Turning Torso*. 1921. Bronze, H. 18 3/4". Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

Gordin, Sidney, untitled. 1959. Welded steel, H. 26 3/4"; W. 34 3/4". Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

*Higgins, Edward, untitled. 1959. Welded steel, plaster, wooden base, H. 42 3/4". Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.

*Lassaw, Ibram, *Galactic Cluster No. 1*. 1958. Bronze and silver, H. 33"; W. 38 1/2"; D. 16". The Newark Museum.

*Lipchitz, Jacques, *Mother and Child*. Bronze, H. 13" x 13" x 8". Los Angeles County Museum.

*Smith, David, *Egyptian Barnyard*. Silver, construction, H. 14 1/2"; L. 24". The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

Vagis, Polygnotos, *Snake*. Bronze, H. 20"; L. 29 1/2". Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

ENGLISH

Butler, Reg, *Girl on a Wheel*. 1959. Bronze. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Moore, Henry, *Figure*. 1956-1960. Elm wood, H. 111". The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

*Thornton, Leslie, *Seated Figure*. 1960. Welded bronze, H. 46 1/2". Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.

FRENCH

*Arp, Jean, *The Lion of the Cyclades*. 1957. Marble, 20" x 24" x 12". The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Maillol, Aristide, *Torso*. Bronze, H. 24". Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

ROUMANIAN

*Brancusi, Constantin, *Maiastira*. Polished bronze. Des Moines Art Center.

SWEDISH

Milles, Carl, *The Sun Glitter*. Bronze, 31 1/2" x 27" x 23 1/4". Worcester Art Museum.

DECORATIVE ARTS

FURNITURE

Arm Chair. French, Le Corbusier, 1927. Chrome-plated tubular steel frame, leather and down seat and back and side cushions. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Lounge Chair and Ottoman. American, Charles Eames, ca. 1957. Molded plywood shells of rosewood; aluminum swivel bases; leather and down seat and back cushions. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

GLASS

Group of Vases, Miniature Bowl and Candlesticks. American, Louis Comfort Tiffany, ca. 1900. Vases and bowl of iridescent and translucent Favrite glass; candlesticks of cast bronze, one with iridescent glass spheres. From a gift of almost 150 glass and other objects designed by Louis Comfort Tiffany. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Six Pieces of Tiffany Glass. Museum of the City of New York.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

ELIZABETH DU GUÉ TRAPIER, *Valdés Leal, Spanish Baroque Painter*. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1960.

"Valdés Leal does not belong to the lusty company of early baroque painters but to those who worked during the latter phase of the movement. There is an air of decay and melancholy about the art of the high baroque, and no Spaniard expresses its slow decline better than does Valdés Leal. He lacks the force and virility of such masters as Caravaggio and Ribera but he has much to offer." Thus Miss du Gué Trapier sums up Valdés Leal's significance to us. Her biography of the Sevillian artist is, as her previous studies on Spanish art, unbiased and impersonal and of a high order of excellence. Miss Trapier does not minimize Valdés Leal's defects—his borrowings from Murillo (as in the *Death of St. Clara*) or from Herrera (*St. Andrews*), the gruesome quality of his famous *Hieroglyphs* in Sevilla or the unpleasant and mawkish composition of some of his groups. But she also insists, and very rightly, on the importance of Valdés Leal as one of the few good Spanish engravers of his time, as is shown by the etchings for Torre Farfán's *Fiestas*. Miss Trapier's volume, simply conceived, direct and concise to the point of dryness, is a splendid example of her exacting scholarship, and evidently the definitive biography of the artist. It is generously illustrated, both with the most important (and many of the lesser) examples of Valdés Leal's work, and with a wealth of comparative material.

The Eighteenth Century: One Hundred Drawings by One Hundred Artists. University Gallery, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1961.

Exhibitions of drawings, for long almost an esoteric activity of galleries and museums, are now more numerous in this country than in Europe. Usually excellent, they have had a tendency to rely in general upon well-known, safe examples. The present exhibition, on the contrary, seems to have emphasized unfamiliarity. This it did with much success, without sacrificing quality, and the result was a delightful, homogeneous show, of which the University of Minnesota may be proud. The exhibition was the joint effort of three scholars: Lorenz Eitner, Sidney Simon and Hylton Thomas, of the Department of Art. The first two were responsible for the introduction to the catalogue and an excellent essay on the theme of 18th century draughtsmanship. Dr. Thomas was responsible for the catalogue entries, which include far more than the usual bibliographical notes and are often in fact scholarly commentaries on unfamiliar drawings. It was a pleasure to have such excellent draughtsmen as Domenico del Mondo, Nicholas Pineau or Luis Paret y Alcazar receive their due. As he states in the Introduction, Dr. Simon (and his colleagues) wanted to exhibit "unusual works by major figures and, whenever possible, major drawings by lesser known artists." It was an ambitious program; but it succeeded.

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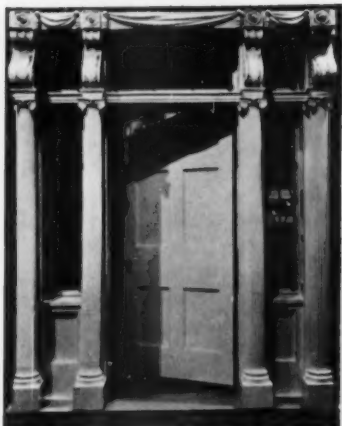
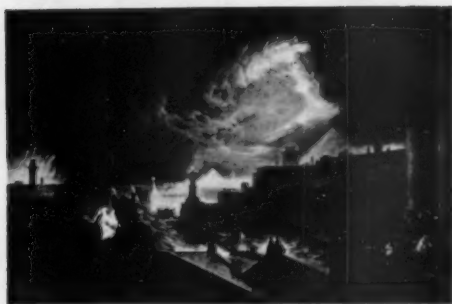
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TOP: 1. SAMUEL LOVETT WALDO, *Portrait of Miss Harper*. The Newark Museum. 2. JAMES A. MCN. WHISTLER, *Symphony in Red*. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 3. GEORGE BELLOW, *Mrs. T. in Cream Silk*. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

CENTER: JOHN MARTIN, *The Seventh Plague of Egypt*. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

BOTTOM: 1. *Door from the Isaac Gillett House*. American, Jonathan Goldsmith, 1821. The Cleveland Museum of Art. 2. *Bookcase and Secretary*. American, Anthony G. Quervelle. The Philadelphia Museum of Art. 3. *Door from the Isaac Gillett House*. American, Jonathan Goldsmith, 1821. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Philadelphia Reviewed, The Printmakers' Record, 1750-1850. An Exhibition of prints from the collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1960.

The aim of this exhibition was to bring groups of related objects in the Winterthur Collection together; its theme was, as the charming title suggests, to recreate, mostly through prints, the Philadelphia scene between 1750 and 1850, "the golden age" of Philadelphia, as Mr. Montgomery calls it, when the city's population grew from 13,800 to almost half a million. Some fifty engravings are listed, each with a long and precise commentary by the various members of the 1961 class of Winterthur Fellows.

American Paintings of the Nineteenth Century. The George F. McMurray Collection. The Pasadena Art Museum, 1960-61.

That there is still much to discover, or rediscover, in American art is graphically proved by such a catalogue as this. It is replete with unfamiliar names of painters, or rather of painters still unfashionable, such as Henry Hitchings (at his best, it is true, in his water colors), George L. Brown, Russell Smith or Robert Street, most of whom deserve a niche in the history of American art. Equally important is the fact that the McMurray Collection includes also important works by important artists. Judging from the reproductions in the profusely illustrated catalogue, the examples by Asher B. Durand, Frederick Church (*Connecticut Landscape*), Conrad Wise Chapman (*Mexican Landscape*), and Kensett, are of the highest quality. The catalogue is preceded by a long Introduction by



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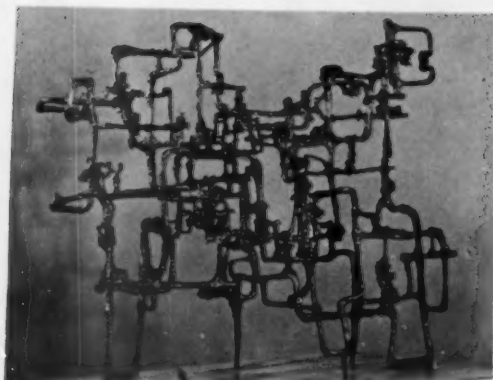
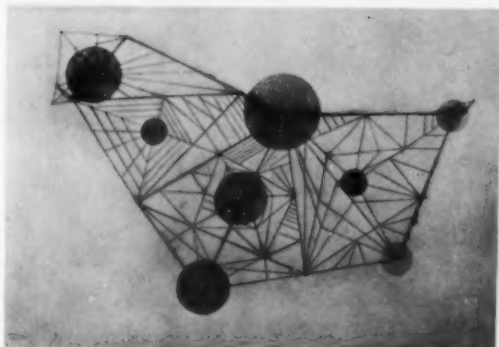
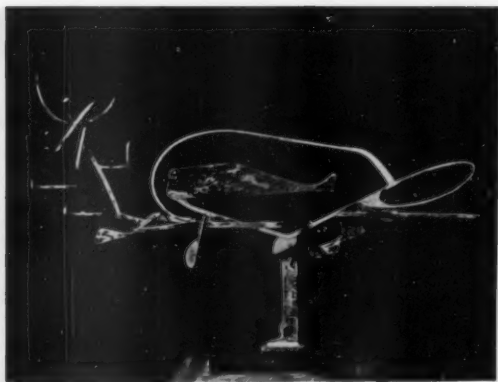
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TOP: 1. JEAN ARP, *Lion of the Cyclades*. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. 2. DAVID SMITH, *Egyptian Barnyard*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

CENTER: 1. EDWARD HIGGINS, *untitled*. Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo. 2. LESLIE THORNTON, *Seated Figure*. Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo.

BOTTOM: 1. WASSILY KANDINSKY, *K978*. Seattle Art Museum. 2. IBRAM LASSAW, *Galactic Cluster 1*. The Newark Museum.

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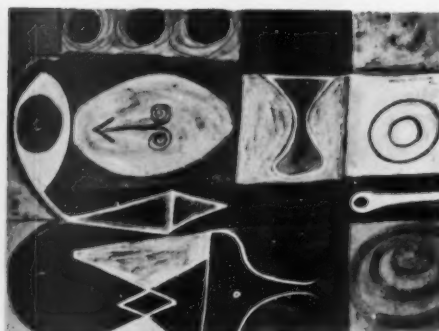
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TOP: 1. ERICH HECKEL, *Sand Diggers on the Tiber*. Los Angeles County Museum. 2. JACQUES LIPCHITZ, *Mother and Child*. Los Angeles County Museum. 3. LUDWIG MEIDNER, *Portrait*. Los Angeles County Museum.

CENTER: 1. WILLIAM BAZIOTES, *Water Form*. The Cleveland Museum of Art. 2. NEIL MEITZLER, *Procession, Mykonos*. Seattle Art Museum.

BOTTOM: 1. MATTA, *Rencontre*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis. 2. ADOLPH GOTTLIEB, *The Mutable Objects*. The Newark Museum.

Thomas W. Leavitt, the Director of the Pasadena Art Museum, which stresses the individuality of American nineteenth century painting, "the first American art movement," until, in the 1880's, European painting "had overwhelmed American aesthetic standards once again."

SIR KENNETH CLARK, *Looking at Pictures*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960.

This deceptively simple title masks a series of thoughtful, scholarly articles by one of the most distinguished art historians of our time. Dealing with sixteen great works of art in European collections, these essays are reprinted from the London *Times* of autumn 1958 and 1959. A delight in newspaper format, they are even more satisfactory in book form. Several of the essays have been lengthened and there are additional plates of the paintings, as well as details and related works. Read as a group we are better able to acquaint ourselves with this outstanding personality as he analyzes his subjects.

In his preface Sir Kenneth introduces us to his methods of looking at pictures, a method used here with 14 oil paintings, a Constable study and a Raphael cartoon. Following the initial impact of each picture comes a detailed scrutiny of the work in question, recollection of pertinent information and a return to the painting itself as a kind of renewal. A highly developed sensibility and a powerful intelligence draw us gently and persuasively to active participation. Initial reactions range from the sensuous "pleasure in daylight" before Vermeer's *Artist in his Studio* to a more emotional "knock-out blow" as he views Goya's *Shooting of the Rebels, May 3, 1808*. But emotion then



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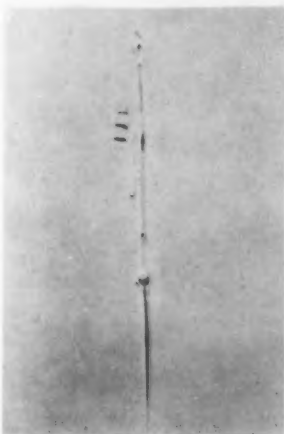
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modern painting and sculpture

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TOP: 1. HIRAM D. WILLIAMS, *Challenging Man*. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. 2. GEORGES BRAQUE, *The Stove*. Yale University Art Gallery. 3. YASUO KUNIYOSHI, *Mr. Ace*. The Baltimore Museum of Art.

CENTER: 1. EDWARD HOPPER, *Second Story Sunlight*. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. 2. THOMAS HART BENTON, *Henry Look Unhitching*. The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis.

BOTTOM: 1. LOUIS LE BROCCQUY, *Presence F49*. The Detroit Institute of Arts. 2. WALASSE TING, *Bombardment Incessant*. The Detroit Institute of Arts. 3. CONSTANTIN BRANCUSI, *Maiistra*. Des Moines Art Center.

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gives way to a search for the "central essence... further down" and the author's nimble brain, with consummate knowledge and skill, relates all manner of information to each painting: Goya's deafness and its bearing on his art; the classicism of Titian's *Entombment*; the relationship between Rogier van der Weyden and Robert Campin; Delacroix's *Crusaders Entering Constantinople* as a personal comment on political destruction.

The ease with which Sir Kenneth comments on so many aspects of art, the measured and beautiful word-music, cannot hide the intensity with which he seeks out the heart of painting. In a revelatory passage the hunter emerges for a moment as he describes stalking the *Meninas* of Velasquez, quite literally, as "if it were alive." The object of pursuit is that almost indescribable moment when eye, hand and inspiration are one, when paint is transformed into expression, when all influences converge to produce a single masterpiece. Thus, he sees the Botticelli *Nativity* as a vision arrived at through "participation in disasters," namely the political and spiritual upheavals of late fifteenth century Florence. And he sums up Watteau's *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* as a final personal triumph for the painter over previous subject matter and composition. These elusive moments of crystallization, with all the elements involved, could probably only be hunted to earth by a master like Sir Kenneth, who has so well developed his own powers of vision and thought and who so graciously permits us to participate in his own rich, inner life.

Ann Haggarty
The Detroit Institute of Arts

Modern Art: Yesterday and Tomorrow. Edited by Georges and Rosamond Bernier. (Selective Eye IV). New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1960.

One can only conclude, upon examining this handsome anthology, that there are few corners of the modern art world that the discriminating eyes of the editors Bernier do not penetrate. When they are not actually treating their subjects first hand, a horde of waiting experts are ready to deal with painting, sculpture, the graphic arts, significant trends, important figures, collectors, exhibitions and biographical data. Fourth in a series of selections from the art review *L'Oeil*, published monthly in Paris, the original French texts are translated into English and are embellished with magnificent plates.

This culling of material from both sides of the Atlantic boasts some fascinating anecdotal material chiefly in the form of conducted interviews. Julie Rouart serves her questioner tea in cups that belonged to Edouard Manet, along with a charming pot-pourri of information about her mother Berthe Morisot, and the Impressionists she knew so well. Pola Gauguin speaks on the later relationship between his mother Mette Gad and his famous father. The sense of immediacy in these articles enforces new insights: speaking of his own collection, Henry Pierre Roche throws oblique light on the personality of the American art connoisseur John Quinn, or leads us to wonder anew at the collaboration of two such diverse personalities as Picasso and Braque in the interests of Cubist disciplines.

The Berniers are to be congratulated upon the universal



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coverage given to the arts of our time from its backgrounds to very recent accomplishments. Less publicized yet important movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as those of the Synchronists and the Nabis, are given full attention in both their broader aspects and in telling detail. The whole sweep of painting in contemporary Spain and Italy is examined and the reader is brought into close touch with exciting developments in these countries. Again one must mention the beautiful plates which aid in evoking, for example, the power of the Spanish abstractionists.

The broader aspects of modern art are offset by considerations of individual artists. Sometimes particular aspects of an artist's gifts are highlighted, such as the talents of Georges Braque as illustrator of books, or the color engravings of Mary Cassatt. Other essays deal with an entire *oeuvre*, and two of the most rewarding studies of this nature concern two sculptors, Jacques Lipchitz and Richard Lippold, who are widely divergent in technique and theme. Lipchitz, Lithuanian born, is described by Henry Hope as European in outlook, grounded in the Franco-Mediterranean tradition. He has followed a course through Cubism to a personalized Baroque and moved increasingly in the direction of personal and spiritual values. Rosamond Bernier writes on Lippold, the American, who is steeped in mathematics and music and the "scientific urban landscape" of his native Middle West. Attracted to the Constructivists and utterly cerebral in approach, he has been dedicated from the start to linear sculpture as opposed to Lipchitz's plasticity, and deals with supra-personal values. These two essays deserve special mention as

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both men's aesthetic and the makings thereof have been made excitingly clear. Though both men share deep emotional attachments and a fantastic sense of craftsmanship, Lipchitz is held in time and embroiled in the past; Lippold consciously rises above time and looks to the future. Each figure is deftly handled, and though there is no intentional parallelism, one is intensely aware of the contrasts and wealth of components which are involved in the many-sided artistic endeavors of our own time. This awareness is well realized on a larger scale in this series on modern art.

Ann K. Haggarty
The Detroit Institute of Arts

MODIGLIANI—Paintings and Drawings. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Los Angeles County Museum, 1960.

Modigliani's paintings and drawings are stylish and comparatively restrained respites from the complexities and force of abstract expressionism. In spite of the restraint, few artists have done work that is more sensuously exciting. This combination of style and excitement has made Modigliani today one of the most attractive of twentieth century painters; his monotony seems to diminish as the years pass. The exhibitions of his work since the last war have been many and popular.

One can only admire Frederick Wight's beautifully written and informative text and extend this admiration to the satisfying and tastefully produced catalogue. Its elegance is fully comparable to Modigliani's own.

A. F. Page
The Detroit Institute of Arts



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Contemporary American Painting and Sculpture. Urbana, University of Illinois, 1961.

This exhibition is the tenth in a series which began in 1948, was presented annually through 1953 and since then has been on a biennial basis. The intention, as stated in the forward to the catalogue, is to provide "a wide variety of works for the study and appraisal of contemporary directions in painting and sculpture." The examples to be shown were chosen by a jury of three, which traveled the country for more than a year visiting museums, galleries and artists' studios. The exhibition as a whole is not biased to a particular viewpoint but seems generally representative of current directions in this country.

Allen S. Weller, Dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University of Illinois, and Chairman of the Festival of Contemporary Arts sponsored by that institution, has provided the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition, just one part of this festival which concerns itself with the arts of the present in many of their manifestations.

In his introduction Dean Weller discusses what he feels to be the problems involved in making critical judgments or evaluations of contemporary visual art. He goes to great length to establish a basis for a new or different means for judgment, a judgment which has no relation to set academic standards. His stand is well taken and his set of criteria seem to be in accord with those which are most often exercised by juries selecting exhibitions of contemporary art.

His main considerations, as he sums them up, are those of "authority" of execution, a sense of content (in the broad meaning of the term), freshness in conception, intensity of ex-



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pression, a formal order or organization, the association or suggestion which the work brings to mind, and finally, a competent use of materials. His avowed intent is not to set up a fixed scale for measuring the success of the art process but rather to list some of the points which he feels provide valuable indications as to the success of the artist in his expression.

The catalogue itself is a most valuable source for students of contemporary American art. The 155 artists included are all represented by black and white photographs of their work and in a majority of cases by photographs of the artists themselves. The biographical information, while necessarily brief, is in many instances furnished by the artist and is often accompanied by a personal statement. It is this collection of statements which makes the catalogue particularly interesting. The artists were all asked a prepared question as to their feelings about current trends toward a more figurative or representational art. Their answers are of certain interest to anyone in any way concerned with the activities or the thoughts of the American artist today.

William Peck
The Detroit Institute of Arts

Fourteen Seasons of Art Accessions in Kentucky, 1947 to 1960.
Louisville, The J. B. Speed Art Museum, 1960.

The J. B. Speed Museum has been best known for the past years mostly for the collection given by Preston Pope Satterwhite, particularly rich in decorative arts of the Renaissance. Less publicized is the great progress made by the museum in

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other fields of acquisitions. The present guidebook illustrates 120 of the objects acquired since 1947, and reproduces in a large number of cases the articles published earlier in the regular *Bulletins* of the museum. The result is impressive, with acquisitions for all the departments. Paintings by Inness, Wyant, Sargent, Romney, were obtained by gift; regional works, in particular a number of Kentucky portraits of the first half of the nineteenth century, will prove perhaps more important to scholars, as will groups of portraits of Henry Clay and a bust-length of Daniel Boone by Chester Harding painted a few months before his death. For obvious reasons the European sections are less important. But such purchases as the exquisite water color of Paris' *Ile de la Cité* by Harpignies, the Lawrence full-length of the *Countess of Guilford and her Daughter*, or the Panini *Marriage at Cana*, demonstrate the acumen of the present director.

Winterthur Newsletter. Vol. VII, No. 2, February 24, 1961; *Accessions—1960*. The Winterthur Corporation, 1960-61.

There are few ephemera more valuable in this country than the multilith *Winterthur Newsletters* circulated at intervals by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. The last issue, for instance, includes excellent notes on John Fanning Watson, the first historian of American decorative arts, and on the doctrinal opposition of Quakers to the use of finery, which did not go so far as to preclude the display of "a noble large tea-pot of solid gold" on a "sideboard or *beaufait*" in a Newport Quaker home.

Still more impressive, however, is the recently published



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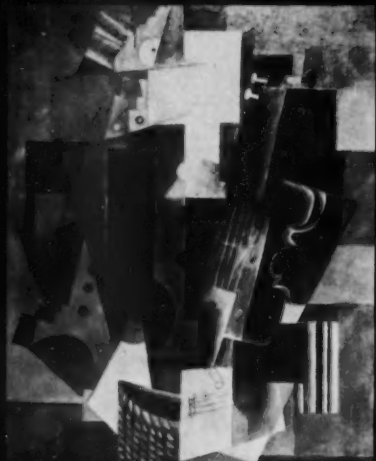
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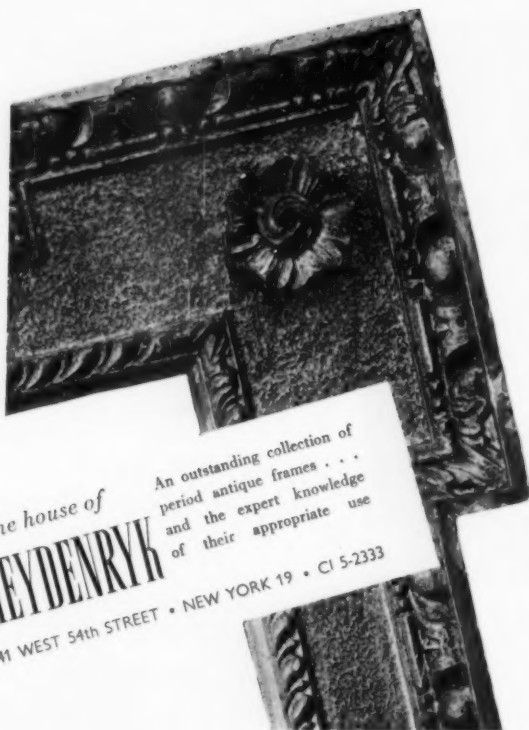
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list of objects purchased in 1960 for the various branches of the Museum. The present catalogue, beautifully and tastefully printed, discusses these acquisitions and reproduces most of them. The result is overwhelming, with paintings such as Krimmel's *Election Scene*, Charles Willson Peale's *Dr. Benjamin Rush*, or Trumbull's portrait of his wife, and supreme examples of folk painting. But it is in the decorative arts that the results are unequalled by any other museum in this country; as Mr. Montgomery says, "one of the wonderful things about collecting is that unexpected and unprecedented things keep turning up." An armchair with Savery's label ("at the Sign of the Chest of Drawers, Coffin, and Chair, a little below Market, in Second Street, Philadelphia"); a rare Massachusetts commode; the miniature cabinet from the Breckenridge Long Collection; these are only a few of the new pieces of furniture. In addition there are rarities of the same high order: they range from a cast iron *stoveplate* from the Elizabeth Furnace (dated 1769), which may well reproduce Stiegel's phiz, and andirons stamped with the name of John Molyneux, Boston, to a pewter plate made by Joseph Danforth, Jr., but with the additional touchmark used by his father, Joseph Danforth, Sr. To this writer, however, the large group of engravings, made in America, or of American subjects, proved the most fascinating part of the exhibition, with such sheets as Thomas Johnston's *View of Quebec* (1759) and the large caricature *Political Electricity* (1770), which, as the catalogue reminds us, was described by R. T. H. Halsey as "possibly the largest and most diversified satire ever put out for sale."



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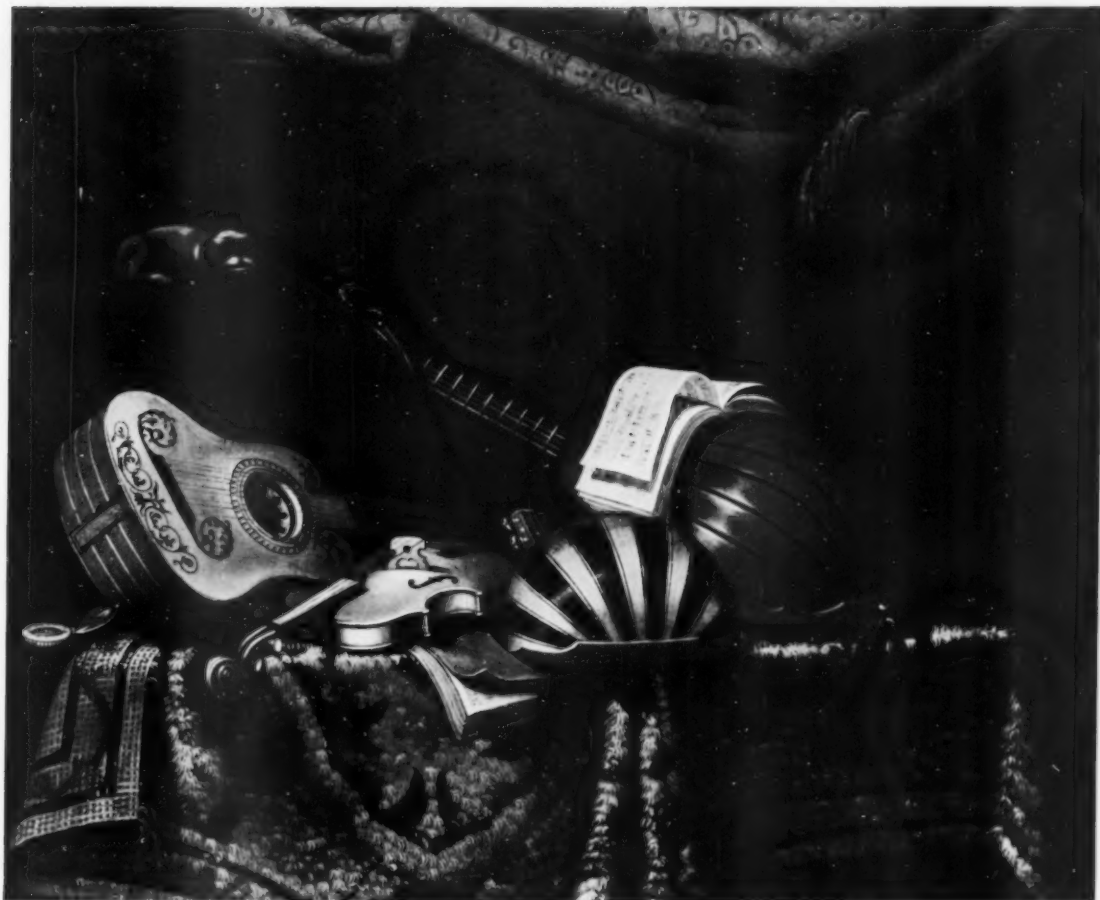
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See Graves, Vol. IV, page 1814

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